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IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 645

EDITORIALS

Harold Laski 647
Labor Says No 648
Aid to Britain 649

ARTICLES

Plan or Perish *by Harold J. Laski* 650
America's Case at Nürnberg *by Peter de Mendelssohn* 652
Conflict in Latin America *by Manuel Seoane* 654
The Italian Crisis *by Leo Valiani* 656
The Wisconsin Riddle *by Carey McWilliams* 657
Everybody's Business *by Keith Hutchison* 659
The People's Front *by Del Vayo* 660

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Greece—The E. A. M. White Book *by L. S. Stavrianos* 661
Notes by the Way *by Margaret Marshall* 664
Briefer Comment 666
Art *by Clement Greenberg* 669
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 669
Books in Short 670

LETTERS TO EDITORS 671

CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO. 139 *by Jack Barrett* 672

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The Shape of Things

THE MEETING AT MOSCOW OF THE THREE Foreign Ministers was long overdue, but it offers a last chance to clear out some of the obstacles dividing the great powers before the United Nations Assembly meets in January. The problem of the atomic bomb, political conflicts stretching from China and Japan to the Balkans, the difficulties in the way of unified control in Germany—these are only a few of the items which doubtless appear on the agenda confronting the conferees. The report from Washington that Mr. Byrnes wants to limit the talks to a week is disturbing. Unless unprecedented preparations have been made through diplomatic channels, the work cannot be crowded into a short meeting. The three Ministers face the absolute necessity of achieving agreement on major issues before they toss them into the unready lap of the UNO.

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THE FRIENDS OF THE SPANISH REPUBLIC HAVE requested Secretary Byrnes to place the question of Spain on the agenda of the Moscow meeting with a view to obtaining severance of diplomatic relations with Franco and assurance that recognition will be granted only to a democratic Spanish Republican government. *The Nation* wholeheartedly joins in this demand. The issue has grown even more acute in recent weeks since the extent of Nazi entrenchment there has been fully exposed. It is high time for the Big Three to translate the resolutions of San Francisco and Potsdam regarding Fascist Spain into effective action.

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UNDAUNTED BY SUCCESSIVE SPANKINGS FROM Byron Price, General Eisenhower, and Secretary Byrnes, the French government remains grimly determined to block any move toward centralization of the German economy until at least a provisional settlement of the Rhineland question is achieved. Thus thanks to the veto given at Potsdam to each of the four powers on the Allied Control Council, no progress can be made in carrying out an important part of the Potsdam program, and the danger of Germany's complete economic collapse is enhanced. The position of the French government is backed, as usual, with a certain logic. Exclusion of General de Gaulle from Potsdam—though no country had a greater stake than his in the future of Germany—made it possible to leave the question of the western frontiers of the Reich in the air. The French government's thesis is that the destiny of the Ruhr and Rhineland must be decided before steps are taken to reorganize the political and economic life of Germany. If the resources of the Ruhr are

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left to the Reich, many Frenchmen fear Germany will recover its power to wage aggressive war. Therefore they wish to see the Ruhr internationalized and an independent state under the protection of the Western European powers set up on the left bank of the Rhine. If such a plan were carried out, the Central German rump, cut away from its richest provinces east and west, would collapse economically or break up into several small states able to exist only by becoming clients of one or another of the powers. For different reasons the French solution is opposed in whole or part by America, Britain, and Russia; nor has it the full support of the French left. But it is a solution of sorts for a problem which the Big Three have dodged up to now, and in insisting upon its discussion General de Gaulle has a strong case. It seems to us that Mr. Byrnes is unwise in threatening to "by-pass" France by centralizing transport and currency agencies in the American, British, and Russian zones. Instead, he should urge prompt decision on the issues raised by the French so that Germany's economy can be organized within the framework of a definite political settlement.

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PATRICK J. HURLEY APPARENTLY BELIEVES THAT if he yells loud enough someone is bound to believe his scurrilous charges against State Department personnel. In his appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he singled out two of the most responsible and conscientious of the State Department career men for attack. His case against George Atcheson, Jr., chief political adviser to General MacArthur, proved to rest on nothing more than the fact that Mr. Atcheson, through proper channels, recommended a policy with which Hurley did not agree. His venomous accusations against John S. Service proved to have even less basis, since Hurley was not ambassador when Service filed the memorandum to General Stilwell to which Hurley took such violent objection. Hurley's refusal to produce the offending document suggests that Service may have accurately analyzed the pitfalls in the policy which the fiery Ambassador subsequently followed. In any event, it is clear that both officials were merely carrying out their assigned duties. Neither is even charged with failing to carry out Mr. Hurley's directives. Fortunately, Secretary Byrnes refused to be stampeded by General Hurley's fireworks and rallied to the defense of the accused officials with a forceful statement. At the same time, we are glad to note that while Mr. Byrnes declared for continued support of the Chungking government as "the most satisfactory base for a developing democracy," he did emphasize the importance of using our influence to secure a broadening of that regime.

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WHERE IS BRITAIN'S COLONIAL POLICY HEADED? An extremely well-informed, friendly critic of the Labor government insists that we may expect a considerable improvement over the Churchill policy. We have yet to see a glimmer of light in that direction. A test of British colonial intentions came last week when the UNO Preparatory Commission voted to broaden and safeguard the right of subject peoples to petition the UNO for a hearing on grievances against administering powers. Mr. Bevin's earlier declaration that Britain was ready to surrender part of its national sovereignty in the interest of international peace might have led one to believe that no objection would be made to this modicum of international supervision of territories over which Britain exercises trusteeship but not sovereignty. But the British delegation voted against the proposal, with the Americans abstaining and the Russians voting in favor. Another indication that even first steps toward modifying Britain's colonial policy have yet to be taken is the protracted retention of egregious colonial autocrats like Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, Governor General of Burma. The only encouraging note has been the decision of the Labor M. P.'s to ask Mr. Bevin for a truce in Indonesia, to be followed by a Dutch-Indonesian conciliation conference in London under UNO supervision. While there is some danger that such a conference may impose a British, hence colonial, solution of the Indonesian problem, it is a marked improvement over previous suggestions from responsible British quarters.

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DURING THE WAR THE ESCORT CARRIER CROATAN did its duty patrolling the submarine lanes of the Atlantic. It pioneered night flying on CVE's, sank many a U-boat. In the service it became affectionately known as "Old Crow." When the new redeployment program was set up to get the troops home fast from Europe, the Croatan was the first of the flat-tops to enter Le Havre. It was immediately confronted with a problem, in the eyes of its officers, more perilous to the American way of life than Nazi submarines. One hundred and twenty-three veterans of the campaigns in France, Belgium, and Germany stood waiting to embark. They were Negroes. The officers of the carrier, deciding there were not proper facilities for segregation, refused—over strenuous Army protests—to take them aboard. We are glad this action has not escaped the notice of higher naval authorities or of the American people. Old Crow, forsooth! Old Jim Crow!

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BRAZIL'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION SHOWS HOW hard it is to move from dictatorship to democracy in one jump. The returns are incomplete as we go to press, but the outcome is clear. General Dutra, former Minister of War, the Vargas-backed candidate, is maintaining a two-to-one lead over his nearest opponent, General Gomes. The National Democratic Union, which supported Gomes, has not yet conceded his defeat, perhaps out of reluctance to admit that its prediction of a Gomes sweep was so wide of the mark. But on election eve every observer, Brazilian and foreign, picked Gomes as the winner. A man of strong nationalist conviction, Gomes has been consistently pro-Ally, but his personality and record are not such as to excite enthusiasm on the left. An almost excessive puritanism led him to devote a large part of his campaign to attacks on gambling and sexual immorality. He said relatively little about the process of nazification that went on unchecked in Brazil during the entire pre-war period of Vargas's rule or about the fascist character of the regime itself. As for Dutra, he boasts a decoration presented to him by Hitler in May, 1940, for "valuable services rendered to Germany by Brazil." As Minister of War he issued frequent warnings about the menace of communism while maintaining a discreet silence on the

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subject of fascism. In the election Dutra had the backing of large clerical groups, fascist sympathizers, ultra-conservatives, and the openly fascist Integralistas. Taken together, these interests formed the solid reactionary underpinning of the Vargas regime, which now promises to survive in a new guise and with impressive legal sanctions.

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IF THE UNITED STATES AVOIDS A POST-WAR inflation such as overwhelmed the country in 1919 and 1920, Chester A. Bowles will deserve a major share of the credit. Speaking before the National Association of Manufacturers and other business groups, Mr. Bowles pulled no punches. He insisted that some price controls might have to continue after next June 30. Nor did he hesitate to point out to the N. A. M. that consumers have saved $66 billion by rejecting its price-control recommendations. The proposal that controls be dropped he attacked as a threat to the success of the entire free-enterprise system. And in reply to the accusation that the OPA was "ruining" business, he presented figures to show that in no period of our history have business profits been so large and business failures so few. With the inflationary threat far greater than at any time during the war, Mr. Bowles deserves more support than he has been getting from labor, consumers, and the general public. Sometimes it has looked as if the OPA Administrator were waging a one-man battle.

✶

"WE ARE NO DIFFERENT FROM THE LABORING men of Great Britain," said William Green to a group of Representatives last week, "When driven to desperation we too will turn to the left." Which drove our house poet to this:

When cockle shells
Turn silver bells
We'll only shake our head;
We'll see real cause
For ohs and ahs
When William Green turns red.

✶

ON THE NEW YORK HOUSING FRONT LAST week's shenanigans were strange ones indeed. The crisis is not only developing into a scandal but—as might have been expected—into a political football, with Governor Dewey, Mayor LaGuardia, and Mayor-elect O'Dwyer competing for the headlines. General O'Dwyer's emergency committee on housing started to function under the competent but irascible chairmanship of Robert Moses. The first day's hearing was highlighted by at least two "incidents"—Joseph Platzker, city Housing Commissioner, stormed out of the meeting when Mr. Moses urged him to cut his testimony short; and Charles G. Bolté, chairman of the American Veterans' Committee, first expressed his surprise at being removed from the committee and then, when he read O'Dwyer's campaign promise to do everything possible to provide temporary housing for veterans, was informed by Mr. Moses that the committee "was not interested in political promises." Mr. Bolté's removal from the committee is a neat example of the pressures, under which the new mayor will have to work: Bolté was appointed presumably because the A. V. C. has done the most to dramatize the housing shortage facing veterans, and was then removed without explanation but probably as a result of pressure from the American Legion which has done nothing about housing. Mr. Moses and the committee in general, which is composed largely of real estate and building-industry representatives, showed their distaste for temporary housing throughout the hearings, although none of them advanced any other workable solution. Not much can be expected from the committee's recommendations; it will be up to General O'Dwyer to make good his pledge whether the committee favors temporary housing or not.

Harold Laski

IT WOULD take space to analyze fully the unique talent for infuriating his political opponents which Harold Laski's recent visit to the United States demonstrated anew. Witnessing the reactions of the American right wing, from its outermost fanatic pinfeathers to the solid Republican scapular, one realized to what an impressive degree Laski has assumed for these groups the ominous shape of things to come. The Holy Name pickets marching up and down Broadway in front of the Astor on the night of *The Nation's* dinner, with their placards denouncing Laski and proclaiming "Franco Saved Spain from Communism," offered crude but revealing evidence of the potency of our guest of honor. More significant has been the barrage of editorial and radio comment that followed his speech, some serious but most of it aimed at exorcising the Laski spector by denunciation or ridicule.

The final and perfect tribute, however, came from the Republican Party chairman, Herbert Brownell, who announced in an address last Saturday at the close of the two-day conference of the Republican National Committee that Harold Laski had drawn the fundamental issue for the next political campaign in the United States. Admitting that "not all Democrats agree with Mr. Laski," Brownell insisted none the less that the views of the Labor Party chairman on free enterprise represent the position the Republicans must fight. And he officially proposed a new ten-point Republican program as an alternative to "the Laski or left-wing Democrat solution" of national and world problems. Mr. Hannegan and most of his party associates must be somewhat taken aback at finding themselves in the same political boat with the distinguished British Socialist, while the actual left-wing groups of this country, including those C. I. O. leaders who until yesterday solidly supported the Administration, will be no less astonished. For American labor has joined the Administration in frequent and, we believe, sincere obeisances to the gods of free enterprise.

But Mr. Brownell's statement is silly only on the surface. Underlying currents in America push in the direction he indicates, and the fears his words reveal are based on a sound instinct of self-preservation. One may dispute or agree with Laski's detailed analysis of the world situation; but who can question his deeper assumption that the tendency of capitalist society, faced with the threat of its own imminent

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breakdown, has been to seek refuge first in fascism and then in war? It was this tendency that led through the Spanish debacle to Munich and the final collapse of collective security. Today the United States remains the last fairly secure retreat of free enterprise, and even here the struggle against collective controls is reaching the stage of open warfare. No wonder the Republican chairman looks upon Laski as a bird of ill-omen. It would be a good thing if some of those "left-wing Democrats" he talks about would consider with equal attention the long-range portent of Harold Laski's words.

Labor Says No

THE application of impartial fact-finding to major national labor disputes as a final step in a series of procedures to avert strikes has been strongly urged by *The Nation*. Where collective bargaining has broken down through failure of one side or the other to disclose the economic facts at issue or through failure to agree on their implications, the fairest and most effective recourse is to get the facts laid before the people and the people's representatives. The legislative plan put forward by the President ostensibly seeks to achieve that objective. Word of it reached us just as we were locking up the forms on last week's issue. The report mentioned only the proposal for the creation of emergency fact-finding boards; so much of the plan *The Nation* indorsed then and subscribes to now.

An examination of the whole message, however, reveals, together with the indefensible suggestion that the General Motors strike be called off, a covey of unfair and probably unworkable provisions that contaminate the basic principle of the scheme. We do not agree with C. I. O. President Murray that the plan had the malicious intent of destroying unions. It appears to us much more likely to have been the product of bad handling and woeful ignorance of the facts of labor life. To charge the President with crass incomprehension may, indeed, be worse than to accuse him of wilful labor-smashing, but it seems a more accurate indictment.

The first and most incredible fact about the message is that it was composed at the White House without any detailed advice from Secretary Schwellenbach or any consultation whatsoever with those whom it principally affected, the labor unions. Philip Murray and William Green, even if they had not been able to go along with it, could have pointed out important technical flaws which could have been corrected without destroying the essential purport of the plan. And they could have produced compelling arguments against some of its basic provisions. As it was, the unions were slapped in the face, without warning or a gesture to bolster their prestige, with the most important labor decision of the Administration. Even in his days of greatest vindictiveness toward John L. Lewis, Mr. Roosevelt never treated him with such lack of consideration.

The President's appeal to the General Motors strikers to return to their jobs at once, and the fact that this too was issued without consulting Murray or Thomas or Reuther, are taken by the C. I. O. as conclusive proof that the whole message was in bad faith. A novice in the labor field would know that a strike as huge and involved as that at G. M. cannot be called off by pressing a button, even if the pressure is applied by the finger of the President of the United States. He cannot end such a strike, but his appeal can weaken it, take the heart out of it. It would require more philosophy than anyone has a right to expect from the leader of a life-or-death strike for him to interpret the back-to-work pleas as anything but a device to smash the union's cause.

Mr. Truman's suggestion that the proposed legislation be patterned after the Railway Labor Act was infuriating to labor. Unions hold that the act does nothing more than apply a freeze, tolerable in the railway industry where collective bargaining is firmly established and where the industry operates under strict federal control, but impossible in competitive, unregulated, and less highly organized fields. The proposal that strikes be made unlawful during a thirty-day period is an alarming restriction on the use of labor's ultimate weapon. It might be a "fair" quid pro quo for labor's demand that industry books be subpoenaed and opened. But it is needless and dangerous. A fact-finding system is perfectly feasible which provides for certification of a major dispute before the existing contract expires. The facts can be found and the recommendations made while the workers are still at their jobs—inhibited from striking by their own contract, not by outside legal compulsion. If the recommendations are adopted, there will be no strike. If the recommendations are not acceptable, or do not provide the facts on which collective bargaining can be resumed, there will be a strike. The same would be true under the President's scheme but with one all-important exception: under the proposed legislation the union cannot choose its time to strike and it thus loses half the power of its weapon. This, in fact, is labor's principal objection to the entire plan.

A technical but important flaw in the Administration proposal is the provision for a multitude of ad hoc boards, one for each case. This system permits no continuity or consistency. One board may grant severance pay, another deny it. Boards may differ on whether to consider anticipated production or ability to pay. A single agency operating on the organization pattern of the War Labor Board would be much more rational.

To complete the picture of labor gloom, the question of Congressional action is raised. Until the Smith-Connally act, President Roosevelt prevented the passage of anti-labor legislation—eagerly pressed by a strong majority of Congress during the last years—by refusing to send any labor legislation, even good bills, to Capitol Hill. He knew that Administration sponsorship of a labor bill would be only the fuse to an explosion; that Congress would tuck the ball under its arm and run in the opposite direction; that at best it would use the original blueprints for a house as the plans on which to build a jail. It is certain that Congress will attempt to do the same thing now, and it may well succeed. Mr. Truman had to take steps to establish disputes machinery, but was it essential that he turn the job over to Congress? Has he not the power to set up by executive order the necessary fact-finding instruments and procedures, and would not such action have been sufficient to head off legislation originating in Congress? There are no sure answers to these questions, but it would appear that Mr. Truman did not even think about them.

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Aid to Britain

SCANNING the sheaf of documents which are the fruit of the Anglo-American financial and trade discussions, one begins to understand why these talks were so protracted. For these two joint statements and the financial agreement represent an attempt to square the complicated accounts of war, to provide means for underpinning Britain's shaky financial structure, and to construct a blueprint for world-wide cooperation in establishing an economy of expansion. The negotiators were forced to cover a broad range of very intricate problems, and they deserve congratulations for completing their journey as expeditiously as they have.

In the short space of an editorial it is obviously impossible to summarize these documents, still less to analyze their provisions. However, before the Anglo-American financial agreement becomes effective, we expect to publish a number of articles examining it and the related documents in detail and dealing with the many arguments pro and con which they are bound to evoke. Meanwhile we may note that this agreement provides for an open credit to Britain, to be drawn upon within the next five years, of $3,750,000,000. Until 1951 no interest will be charged, but thereafter Britain will pay off the loan in annual instalments representing both principle and interest at the rate of 2 per cent per annum. The purpose of this credit is to facilitate purchases in the United States and to assist Britain to "meet transitional post-war deficits in its current balance of payments" and "to assume the obligations of multilateral trade."

Connected with this second aim is a joint statement on commercial policy in which the governments of both countries subscribe to proposals drafted by the State Department for the expansion of world trade and employment. These proposals are to be placed before a special international conference in the course of next year. Their importance in relation to the financial agreement is that their indorsement by Britain constitutes a pledge to collaborate with the United States in reducing trade barriers, restricting cartel operations, and removing other obstacles to international commerce.

Another joint statement sets forth agreed principles for winding up Lend-Lease and Reciprocal Aid, for the settlement of mutual claims rising out of the war, and for the disposal of surplus American property in the United Kingdom. This involves the wiping out of all American claims for materials actually consumed in the course of the war but leaves the United States with the right to recapture Lend-Lease articles still in possession of the British armed forces. Including payment for Lend-Lease supplies furnished since V-J Day, Britain acknowledges a net debt of $650 million, which, apparently, is to be financed through the Export-Import Bank.

Taking this item into account, therefore, Britain is to receive in goods and credit a total of $4,400,000,000. The difference between this figure and the sum of $5 to $6 billion, either in the form of a grant-in-aid or an interest-free loan, for which the British asked in September is one measure of the "toughness" shown by the American representatives at the conference. Examination of the "waiver clause" of the financial agreement, shows the results of this toughness in a more subtle form. This clause provides, in effect that Britain's minimum import needs shall, in the event of a serious strain on its foreign-exchange resources, have priority over interest on the American credit. But in making this important concession our negotiators were most careful to include safeguards against its abuse. Thus before Britain can request a waiver of interest from the United States in any year, its other creditors must agree to a similar moratorium. Further, the necessity of such a step, in the light of Britain's balance-of-payments position, must be certificated by the International Monetary Fund, in which a majority of the votes will be controlled by the United States together with Britain's other creditors.

In spite of the extreme care which has been taken to protect American interests, the agreement with Britain is bound to be hotly attacked from many angles. Before Congress decides whether or not it will make the necessary appropriations, the Anglophobes will enjoy a field day exploiting widespread public ignorance of the realities of international economics. Nor is the agreement assured of an easy passage through the British Parliament. Over here we may consider that Uncle Sam is being excessively generous, but many Britons see him as taking advantage of their country's weakened condition to drive an extremely hard bargain.

The immediate gains offered to the United States by this agreement include the early relaxation of British exchange controls, the liquidation of the sterling area's dollar pool, so far as current transactions are concerned, and the prospect of a settlement of Britain's huge sterling debts —a mass of congealed purchasing power which, gradually released, can provide an important stimulus to world commerce. More important in the longer view is the fact that the proposed credit will place Britain in a position to cooperate with this country in reconstructing international trade on a non-discriminatory basis. The day of American isolation and economic self-sufficiency is gone forever; our prosperity in the years ahead will depend increasingly on ability to buy and sell internationally. But without the participation of Britain, the world's greatest market, no universal economic system could possibly be achieved.

The $3 billion credit to Britain, together with other loans from the dominions, will give it a chance to rebuild its foreign trade on multilateral lines. Denied aid, it would have no alternative but to organize the countries dependent on it politically and economically into a tight trading bloc. It would have to resort to every kind of device to insure the flow of imports without which it cannot exist, carefully matching purchases against sales and controlling and restricting the use of sterling even more rigidly than during the war.

The most tragic consequence of such a development would be political. A sterling bloc would inevitably lead to the formation of a dollar bloc, and economic rivalry between the two would speedily disintegrate the partnership that carried us through the war. The schism would splinter the United Nations Organization and thrust the world back into a more vicious anarchy than it has ever before experienced. It is in the light of such perspectives that our legislators must ponder the agreement. We look to them to be statesmen, not hucksters.

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Plan or Perish

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

[*The chairman of the British Labor Party delivered the following address at the dinner which concluded the Nation Associates' three-day forum in New York on The Challenge of the Atomic Bomb.*]

I HOPE I may be regarded as an old friend of *The Nation*. May I build upon that friendship to begin with some personal words? I have come back, after six years of grim and agonizing conflict, to an America which has put me, for more than half my life, under immense obligation in the two great realms of intellect and of friendship. I am bound to begin by paying my homage to the great part that the United States has played in the organization of military victory; I hope I may live to pay a deeper homage to a great nation which makes the victory in war the prelude to victory in peace. For I suspect that all of us now recognize that military victory is an opportunity and not a fulfilment. That at least was understood by that supreme friend of democracy and freedom, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. We in Britain think of him as the outstanding American architect of what may become, given the will on our part, a better and a happier world. If that new world be built, I venture the prophesy that no name will be held in deeper reverence than his. You may have your differences with this or that item of his policies, as we in Europe have had our differences with Mr. Churchill or with Generalissimo Stalin. That does not prevent our realization that our own stature is measured by the respect we pay them. They have added a noble chapter to the history of mankind. They have given us the chance to find the secret of freedom.

But the will to use the chance before us is the pre-condition of discovering the secret. We have to make great decisions. We have to make them on the understanding that the life and death of our civilization hang upon the wisdom of our choice; boundaries, frontiers, tariffs, the ignoble imagination which associates the greatness of a state with the neutral massiveness of its power—all these seem mean and petty issues upon which to dispute before the central issue is decided. Three men hurriedly improvising a formula in a room screened from the public view cannot be accepted by any of us as having the title to decide our fate. Not even a commission of eminent specialists acting under the authority of the United Nations Organization can have that title. It is for the common people in every land to share in the shaping of their own destiny. If we proceed from any other premise than this, the victory is thrown away because the cause for which it has been fought is lost.

What follows from this premise? First, there can be no secrecy; if the common people are to decide, the full materials for decision must be made known. Secondly, there must be no blackmail of the scientist into an enforced silence; those who seek to break the international community of scientists and men of learning prostitute knowledge to the service of power. Thirdly, in the exploration of this new realm of awe-inspiring possibility, the claim of private interest to own or control materials or processes would be to impose new chains of servitude upon mankind. Adam Smith's "simple system of natural liberty," now, as I gather, in special repute in the United States, is, in this realm, the direct road to serfdom. We know the evil and the pain which were the price of the first and minor industrial revolution. No one can be forgiven who permits its repetition on a far greater scale by making the second and major industrial revolution a means to a deeper division of society into the few who know all the gain of living and the many who know nothing but its toil. Let us say explicitly what needs to be said: every implication of this discovery means planned internationalism, economic, social, political. It is an international discovery. The planning of its application has been international. The organization of its future use must be international also.

There is no nation state fit to be trusted with the development of atomic energy. There is no private interest working for profit to whom its future could be safely confided. Were this new realm to be controlled by generals or admirals, business men or professional administrators, it would become a kingdom of despair and not of hope. If anyone here tells me that the world is not ready for an international democratic government, there are at least two answers of final import. Who is responsible for that unreadiness if not the little, grasping plutocracy which has for so long made its private gain the chief end of human effort? From Amos and Hosea, through Rousseau and Jefferson, through Ruskin and Marx, through Morris and Tolstoy, that has been the single verdict of the prophet. Who is prepared to believe that this same little grasping plutocracy will undergo now a swift change of heart? The evidence is grimly unmistakable that it pays to mankind no other homage than the promises it makes in times of crisis, which it withdraws when the moment of danger is past.

I know of nothing so decisive as a judgment upon the men whose invisible empires have so largely shaped national policies as that we should stand in terror before a discovery whose peaceful development promises a future of abundance to mankind. We all think of it as a weapon of death. Already every nation prepares, through its government, to equip itself with the power to hurl death upon its fellow-nations. No people seeks that power; it is governments that seek it. They seek it because we live under a system by which the many are exploited by the few, and war is the ultimate sanction of that exploitation. War is the outcome of the exercise by governments of unlimited sovereignty. Unlimited sovereignty is essential to the preservation of those legal relations which subdue all human behavior to their service. We shall get rid of war as we get rid of those legal relations and the evil power politics they involve. We shall not get rid of it on any other terms.

The League of Nations failed because there was lacking the will to make it work. The Kellogg Pact failed because,

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there too, that will was lacking. We have seen governments watch with indifference the destruction of freedom in country after country because they were unwilling to pay the price the social process exacts to preserve freedom. I am not proud of the British record in the evil years of appeasement; I have a deep sense of guilt when I see the tragic spectacle of Spain. I do not think the ordinary citizen of Great Britain thought that the war was being fought to return, under any pretext, the Indonesian peoples to the sovereignty of Holland, or to organize the conditions upon which an evil social system shall be imposed in the name of law and order upon the peoples of Southeastern Europe—peoples who for the first time since the break-up of the Roman Empire see the faint dawn of hope. And let me add for myself that I accept as the acid test of the bona fides of the Labor government of Great Britain that it shall not merely declare its desire to see a free and self-governing India, but shall organize the conditions necessary to the fulfilment of its desire without the wish to delay an outcome so clearly inevitable.

If we want freedom, we must have peace. If we are to have peace, it is not enough to will its advent on the formal plane of empty desire. We must organize the conditions which make it to the interest of nation states to put war outside the frame of reference within which human impulses operate. That means that sovereignty must go; that means, also, that the interests which sovereignty protects must be recognized as outmoded in character and dangerous in operation. Just as the feudal system had to go, so the system by which the business man has made the commonwealth an unhappy dependency of the market economy has outlived its usefulness. It is clear to any honest observer that a society dominated by business men could not be trusted to create the mental climate in which the development of atomic energy would be confined within the framework of peace. They would not give the common people education because they fear its outcome. It is the business men who have split our society into two, the political society and the economic society. They have made the policeman the sanction of the first and the threat of starvation the sanction of the second. There is only one country in the world today where this dichotomy has been transcended. There is only one country, also, where science and technology can be developed without sacrificing the education of man and risking the breakdown of social well-being or community consciousness. It is significant that only in the new world of Russia has the business man ceased to count. It is also significant that one of the major preoccupations of the great vested interests is now to keep the "secret"—which is no secret—from the knowledge of Russia. You know the result—a halt to confidence and the rise of ugly suspicion about a third world war.

The first condition of peace is to subordinate a market economy to the claims of peace. It would be a bold step to take; the alternative is to permit the business man to fix the criteria by which the future of atomic discovery is determined. To do that in an age of political democracy is to force the contradiction between a society depending upon the elevation of human dignity and a society depending upon human peonage to develop to the point of conflict. The one searches for new standards of behavior, for a new education, and therefore for an ethics of life and not an ethics of death. The other needs that "beneficent private war," the law of the economic jungle, which is afraid of the democratization of knowledge, anxious for an ethics of death, eager to make leisure cheap and trivial instead of full and creative. It is not accident that our schools and colleges, our universities and foundations, even the churches, are the instruments of big business. It is not accident that the press is now a branch of big business too. It would be madness to let the purposes or the methods of private enterprise set the habits of the age of atomic energy. For those habits would then, like the habits imposed by the men who after 1789 made this world, become the habits of the new world.

Harold J. Laski

We have come to the boundaries of the final dividing line between liberalism and socialism. We are choosing between institutions which assume that freedoms must be won by the few and institutions which assume that they must be planned by the many. Either we must have power in the hands of men who use scarcity as the means of compulsion, or we must give it to men who find abundance is the instrument of freedom. There is no middle way. Free enterprise and the market economy mean war; socialism and planned economy mean peace. We must plan our civilization or we must perish.

I accept the need for the United Nations Organization in the first instance to begin the task before us. But I accept it on conditions. No secrecy; no invasion of the internationalism and the public integrity which are the glory of science and learning; no subordination of the scientist to that "practical man" who thinks it is wisdom to have habit without philosophy. Let the new institution for intellectual advance be given the chance forthwith to show that Plato was right when he said that the Minister of Education must be more important than the Minister of War. Let us show by a New Deal on a scale far wider and far more profound even than Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal that poverty is a curse of man's making even though he had the insolence to affirm its necessity by making it the outcome of God's plan for the universe. We in Britain have no more right to be content with the slum house and the slum mind than you in the United States have the right to evade the fact that you have acquiesced for eighty years in degrading twelve million Negroes by force and fraud and fear. This is not the time to rest content with a temporary plaster upon such deep and open wounds. This is the time to begin a new civilization, based on the freedom which comes when men have a map of the complex universe in which we live, have the assurance of security, and are no longer driven to work by the fear of starvation. Today we are in prisons where we have the key to freedom. When are we going to open the doors?

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Do not believe for one moment that I think our task an easy one. But let us honestly face what the task is. We are societies haunted by fear and insecurity because we have made death the sanction of life and left its operation as a sanction to men who exploited its terrors to keep the many poor and ignorant and deceived. Now we know that we have reached the point where if they continue in power their demands will impose the law of the jungle upon us all; they sit there, believe me, in the dark at Nürnberg; when we indict men of their kind, we indict the same types in every society where democracy is not the participation in the processes of government by free citizens who live by the sanction of life because they have recognized necessary limitations and are thus free from fear. Nazism in all its forms is the culmination of a society built upon the anarchy of free enterprise; when it subjects man to the economy of the market, it destroys his right to be man. That is why we must alter the central principle of our civilization to planned production for community consumption. From that central principle alone flow the ethical values which can renovate and refresh this dying civilization. Without it we shall have done no more than make a supreme discovery in the art of social destruction. With it we can make a supreme application of a new power to the art of social creation.

We are before a revolution more mighty even than the vast change which came with the reorientation of men's minds effected by the scientific discoveries of Copernicus and Kepler. These required a new society and a new culture. They were obtained, but they were obtained by the degradation of the mass of mankind. Now we too require a new society and a new culture, this time a democratic culture in a free society. That prospect arouses fear and distrust in that middle class whose triumph was slowly achieved in the three hundred years after 1600. Now they want to arrest the dynamic of history at the point where their triumph is crumbling into decay. They cannot succeed and they ought not to succeed. Their day is over. Their thought is bankrupt, their ethical values are obsolete, their dogma is an angry anachronism. A new social philosophy is necessary for a new world. Let us admit it can be born only of a new social order.

Do you ask why? In the deep tempest of the Civil War Lincoln gave the answer. "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves." *We must disenthrall ourselves;* I venture to repeat those words. In no other fashion can we face this challenge with the proud confidence of free men.

America's Case at Nuernberg

BY PETER DE MENDELSSOHN

*(*The Nation's *correspondent at the war trials)*

Nürnberg, December 4

THE conclusion of the prosecution on Count I of the Indictment presents a suitable occasion for assessing the American contribution to this first phase of the Nürnberg trial. Listening for a fortnight exclusively to American voices in the Nürnberg courtroom led one perhaps to overlook the fact that the trial is a joint undertaking of four nations with widely different concepts and traditions of legal procedure. They may think along the same lines—they undoubtedly do—but that doesn't mean that they use the same language, actual or legal. Although the representatives of the four nations have obviously made some effort to attune and dovetail their approaches and techniques, the differences remain visible and are not the least fascinating aspect of this unique performance.

We have not yet heard the French or Russians, who will certainly contribute new features to the composite picture, but when on Tuesday Britain's new attorney general, Sir Hartley Shawcross, made his long opening statement on Count II in purest King's English, his clear, ringing voice came almost as a shock, though by no means an unpleasant one. At the same time a dark-haired, dreamy-eyed Russian youngster behind a glass panel, who turned out to be the American-educated son of the star Soviet correspondent, Troyanovski, was translating the speech into beautiful-sounding, deep-voiced, rumbling Russian, and it was exciting to switch back and forth between them. These are some of the minor but unforgettable thrills of this fantastic show.

To say that it is not a purely American show is certainly not to say that the United States does not play an important and possibly predominating role. The United States had not only the opening move, which was bound to be a tricky thing in a wholly untried venture of this kind, but also the task of proving the most difficult and in many ways the most controversial part of the common charge.

The American prosecution's task was twofold: first, to establish in the eyes of the world the legitimacy of this trial, as based on the tribunal's charter and international law; second, to establish the legitimacy and admissibility of the new charge of "a common plan or conspiracy" and furnish watertight evidence thereof. Much controversy has raged and will continue to rage around both of these points. In contrast with Count I of the Indictment, Count II, which is the responsibility of the British, and Counts III and IV, which are the joint French-Russian charge, seem comparatively straightforward. (Count II is "crimes against the peace—that is, "breaches and violations of international treaties, obligations, and assurances; Count III is "war crimes," and Count IV, "crimes against humanity"—these comprise non-observance of the rules of war, acts of inhumanity, deportations, arbitrary looting, killings, and the like not connected with the conduct of war.) The Americans, therefore, took on themselves the most difficult and most important task. And if in the years to come the world has reason to be thankful that this trial was held, its gratitude will go in large measure to the United States.

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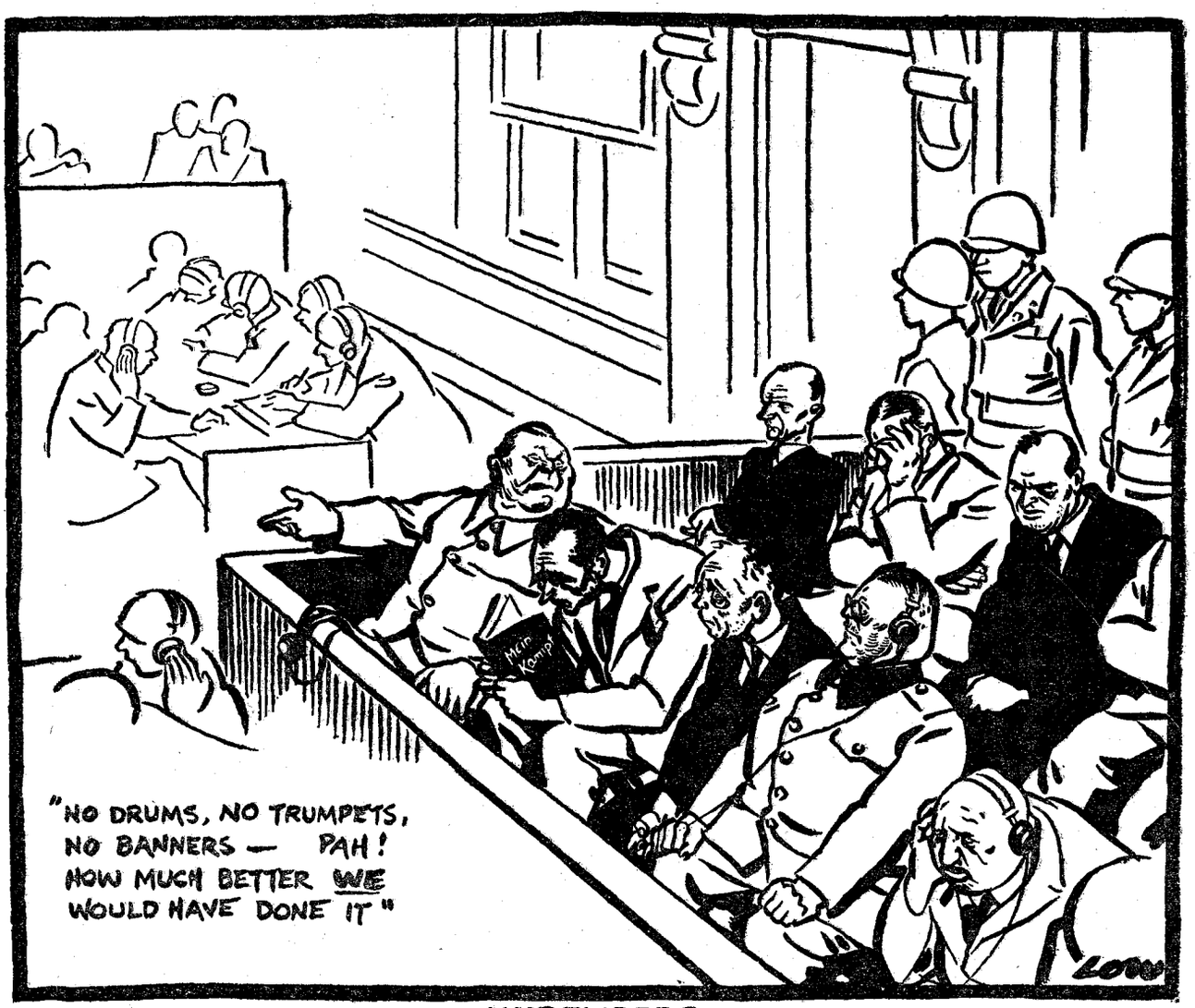
In the fortnight that has passed since Justice Jackson delivered his long opening statement, its historic significance has become apparent. Whatever the future experts of international law work out—and the United Nations Organization must soon tackle this matter in practical detail—they cannot ignore the fundamentals laid down in Jackson's speech. As there stated, and as reformulated by Shawcross in his own speech with great felicity of phrase, the chief issue is: Are these defendants charged under a law which did not exist at the time they committed their crimes, and if so, what justification have the Allies for so charging them? Reduced to simplest terms, Jackson's closely knit, hard-hitting, and comprehensive answer was that these men are lucky to be given a trial at all. We are trying them not because we want to sentence them to death—that would be an easy matter on any one of the thousands of atrocity charges—but because they present us with the first opportunity to formulate and lay down a law which the world must hold to if it is to survive. If it is said that this is a new law, not authoritatively declared at the time the crimes were committed, and that its declaration has taken them by surprise, the answer is that they are really surprised that there is any such thing as law. These men ignored and defied all law. Their failure to understand the evolution of the legal thought of the world is no defense. If it is said that there is no judicial precedent for the tribunal's charter, the answer is that international law is more than a collection of abstract, immutable principles. We have the right in our own day to institute customs and conclude agreements that will themselves become the sources of a new and stronger international law.

As to individual responsibility for crimes committed at the order of a higher authority, in the name of a government or state, it has now become a truism, Justice Jackson declared, to say that "only sanctions which reach individuals can be peacefully and effectively enforced." "Of course," he continued, "the idea that a state commits crimes is a fiction. Crimes are always committed only by individuals. This trial represents mankind's desperate effort to apply the discipline of law to statesmen who have used their powers of state to attack the foundations of world peace; it is a juridical action of the kind to insure that those who start war will pay for it personally." I repeat his words here because all who heard him in the Nürnberg courtroom felt with a sudden thrill that with their utterance an all-important, irrevocable step had been taken. I believe their impact will be felt long after most people have forgotten the Nürnberg trial and Justice Jackson. If this were not true, the tribunal might as well pack up and go home, and mankind make its testament.

It was a long step down from Jackson's exposition to the actual presentation of evidence on Count I—a common



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plan or conspiracy. The prosecution's thesis is that all twenty of the accused, "with divers other persons," participated in a conspiracy to prepare, instigate, and carry out a political-military program whose execution involved the crimes charged separately and specifically under the remaining three counts. It is common knowledge that when the Indictment was drawn up there was much argument over whether this count should be included at all. Many persons are still of the opinion, first, that it is a charge hard both to define and to substantiate, and, second, that it is entirely unnecessary for the purposes of this trial and introduces a dispensable complication. Crimes against the peace, plus war crimes and crimes against humanity, this school argues, would amply suffice to establish a legal precedent, which is the primary purpose of this tribunal, and to convict these twenty men, which is the secondary objective. The American delegation insisted that the conspiracy charge be included, and the immense mass of captured German files, documents, and correspondence introduced as evidence sustains their view. There can no longer be the slightest doubt that from the day Hitler assumed power he and his friends and associates knew what they were doing and intended to do. Few of the twenty will be acquitted of the conspiracy charge, least of all those who insist they had nothing to do with the "common plan," like Schacht, Papen, and Neurath.

It was with pained disappointment, therefore, that one watched the American prosecutors handle the magnificent documentary evidence in an utterly inadequate, uncomprehending way and throw away unique opportunities not only to pin certain crimes on certain defendants—mere child's play—but to teach that great history lesson for which the world was waiting. Here one of the basic faults in the plan for the trial came to light. The presentation of evidence was in the hands of three American lawyers, of whom Thomas Dodd, although he was apparently not very familiar with European or German history, was the least unequal to his task. Major Wallis, the Boston attorney, in presenting the evidence of financial conspiracy showed himself most unsure of his ground. But it was Sidney Alderman, general counsel for the Southern Railway, who finally compromised the prosecution through his grotesquely inept and amateurish handling of the material. If men of this caliber were to be given the job, they should have had the assistance of sound political advisers or, if none were available, of experienced foreign correspondents, in whom the court press gallery abounds. It was inexcusable for Alderman, after the long, detailed account of the aggression against Czechoslovakia, to be unable to give the date of the Munich agreement; it was painful to hear him admit, after a long account of secret German naval rearmament, that he had never heard of "the case of Captain Lohmann," one of the major scandals of the Weimar Republic, which revealed the navy's secret financial deals. Thus the trial defeated its own purpose. The issues are political as well as legal, and narrowing down the political aspect by a strictly legal approach, though it establishes the desired legal precedent, deprives the trial of most of its value. The political pattern, the military and diplomatic context, emerge only here and there, by accident.

A magnificent opportunity has been missed to unfold day after day before the entire world the breath-taking story of Europe during the past twelve years—the truth at last, nothing but the truth, and above all the whole truth—so that the common man in Germany might know why he is sitting where he is—on a rubble heap that once was his home. The lawyers have scored their points. But the world was entitled to expect more from Nürnberg.

Conflict in Latin America

BY MANUEL SEOANE

(Vice-President of the Peruvian Senate)

Lima, November 26

SOME months ago in an article in *The Nation* I expressed the view that at the end of the war the people of Latin America would show their determination to make the democratic victory a reality in their own countries. Recent events have justified my prognosis. In Guatemala last spring a liberal university professor, Juan José Arévalo, succeeded the sinister Juan Ubico as President. In Ecuador a democratic regime headed by José Maria Velasco Ibarra replaced the dictatorship of Arroyo del Rio. The Cuban elections ended the twelve-year-rule of Fulgencio Batista and brought Dr. Ramón Grau San Martín to office as head of a new liberal government. In Peru Dr. Bustamante y Rivero, supported by the forces of the left, won a smashing victory over his conservative rival, and the democratic Aprista Party became the strongest group in the Parliament. Then came the coup in Venezuela and the overthrow of Vargas in Brazil. Today Argentina, the Dominican Republic, and Paraguay are the only substantial bastions of totalitarianism in Latin America.

In the elections to be held on February 24, the Argentine people have a difficult but none the less imperative responsibility: Perón must be defeated. Judging by the present temper of the Argentine electorate, it is not wishful thinking to predict a victory for the anti-Perón coalition. One of the coalition parties, the Partido Radical, formerly claimed 60 per cent of the vote; today government attacks and the arrests of some of its leading members have increased its prestige and its voting strength. And it is supported by other powerful parties—the Socialist Party, which has always carried Buenos Aires; the Democráta Progresista, which has held a majority in the province of Santa Fé; the Communist Party; and even some of the old conservative groups alienated by the insolence of the Colonels' clique.

Perón has gathered around him a corrupt gang of turncoat Radicals, demagogic "labor" leaders, and jailbirds—only

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a few weeks ago the Peronistas staged a demonstration in Buenos Aires to demand the release of prostitutes, petty thieves, racketeers, and other prisoners convicted of misdemeanors. And he counts, too, on an ace in the hole—the support of international Nazi-fascism. Even so, he can muster only 40,000 followers in Buenos Aires, a city which numbers more than 300,000 voters. Undoubtedly election day will see bloody street fights provoked by Perón's *pistoleros,* but they will have to resort to fraud and ballot-box stuffing on a large scale to elect him.

In general the Latin American picture offers real hope of a democratic resurgence. But while several countries have ousted their dictators, reaction is still strong and thirsting for revenge. And unfortunately, it owes some of its present strength to the liberals. When fascists take power, they ruthlessly wipe out their opposition; when liberals win, they invariably guarantee freedom to everyone, including their enemies of yesterday. In Peru, for example, the Apristas organized a post-election victory celebration on May 20 at which they invited the right-wing opposition to cooperate in the reconstruction program. The defeated parties were dumbfounded; they could not believe in a generosity which they themselves had never practiced. Convinced at last that this was no trap, they declared themselves ready to cooperate with the government—and so far have used the liberties accorded them to sabotage national unity and prepare for a new assault against the incumbent regime.

Some Peruvian democrats, however, mindful of what happened in Europe as a consequence of the liberals' excessive generosity, have taken a strong stand against the policy of "liberty even to destroy liberty." As a result, the fascists have already begun to appeal to public opinion abroad, accusing the present regime of employing the same repressive measures which they themselves had used earlier. The charge is false. On the other hand, we have no intention of allowing them, in the name of democracy, to organize a fascist counter-revolution.

Until now the Peruvian fascists have not dared openly to defy the regime, first, because the government would take prompt measures to smash them, and, second, because the people of Peru, who have won a hard victory, would repudiate them. But they are working feverishly to create an atmosphere of mistrust abroad, particularly in the United States.

The Achilles heel of the new government is the difficult economic problem which it inherited from the previous regime. Upon taking office the Bustamante Cabinet announced that one of its first projects would be to settle Peru's foreign debt in order to reestablish the country's credit. To initiate a program of genuine economic reform, Peru needs the aid of foreign capital—and foreign capital, obviously, does not flow freely to countries which fail to pay their debts. The finance minister of Peru is now in the United States seeking to effect a settlement of the external debt. Upon the success of his mission depends the future of the regime and of the nation; if foreign capitalists can be induced to help develop Peru's enormous potential wealth, the country will enter a long-term period of prosperity. It is precisely this influx of capital which the reactionaries are hoping to prevent. At the same time within Peru they are endeavoring very discreetly to split the Frente Democrático Nacional, which supports the Bustamante government.

Here in Lima there is some anxiety about the attitude of England and the United States toward the Peruvian regime, particularly as it is reflected in the dispatches of the American and British news agencies. The Associated Press has as its representative in Lima the business manager of *El Comercio,* a conservative, anti-government daily. One of the owners of *El Comercio* is known as the "Goebbels" of Franco; he has carried on the kind of intensive propaganda campaign in behalf of fascist Spain that one usually associates with an official government agency. The head of the United Press in Lima is a brother of the A. P. representative, while the news editor of *El Comercio* is the Reuters correspondent. In short, all the news that reaches the United States and Great Britain through the channels of the major news agencies is written in the office of one of Peru's most anti-democratic papers!

Peruvian liberals will continue their all-out fight against the native fascists, but they are convinced that no country of Latin America can achieve full democracy as long as isolated fortresses of fascism like Argentina are allowed to survive and as long as Franco continues to misuse Spain's prestige in Hispanic America. In a recent declaration the Uruguayan Foreign Minister, Rodríguez Larreta, denounced the concept that within its own frontiers a government may act as it pleases, even if, as in the case of Argentina, its pleasure is to work for the overthrow of neighbor democracies. The Uruguayan position represents a healthy reaction against the vacillating policy enunciated in the Charter of Chapultepec. It courageously accepts the principle of intervention—intervention not by a single country but by all the countries of the Americas acting jointly in accordance with an accepted democratic agreement.

But future inter-American cooperation should not be limited to the political field. The Aprista Party of Peru has proposed an Inter-American Economic Congress; the history of foreign investment in Mexico, Central America, and even Peru makes clear the necessity of a coordinated hemispheric policy that will substitute social progress and economic democracy for exploitation, abuse, and counter-revolution. This proposal has been enthusiastically received by other Latin American countries; indeed, Chile has asked to be kept informed of all developments with regard to the project. But the Apristas count, above all, on the liberals in the United States to build up popular support for a policy of intelligent, democratic, and permanent inter-American cooperation that will make it impossible for reaction to destroy the people's victory before a single one of its fruits has been realized.

IN COMING ISSUES

The article on Wisconsin appearing on page 657 is the first of a series by Carey McWilliams, who is traveling through the Middle West and West.

Mr. McWilliams will report particularly on political thinking and political tendencies in the regions covered.

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The Italian Crisis

BY LEO VALIANI

(Editor of the Milan daily Italia Libera *and a member of the Provisional Parliament)*

ON REPEATED occasions following the armistice with Italy in 1943 United Nations leaders promised the Italian people all possible aid in their efforts to set up a stable, democratic government. At the same time, the Italian anti-Fascist parties were asked to recognize the armistice signed by Marshal Badoglio, which placed the entire political and economic life of the Italian nation under the control of the Allies. Because Italian anti-fascism had faith in the promises of the democracies and wished to demonstrate its loyalty by making possible Italy's participation in the war against Germany, it recognized the armistice, though it had no part in concluding it. By so doing, the Italian anti-Fascists bound themselves, in the opinion of most Italians, to active and fruitful collaboration with the democratic powers. When the leaders of the partisan army then operating in northern Italy behind the German lines were asked by the Allied High Command to recognize the armistice, they agreed to do so because they placed the effective conduct of the war against the Nazis above all else.

In May, 1945, Allied representatives recognized that the Committee of National Liberation of Northern Italy had acquired great prestige throughout the country by having aroused and vigorously directed the anti-German and anti-Fascist revolt, and assured the committee that if it could reach an agreement with the political leaders in Rome and form a coalition government which would abide by the terms of the armistice, the abrogation of that document would be hastened and Italy would the sooner regain its place among free nations. These assurances contributed greatly to the formation of the government presided over by Ferruccio Parri, the most prominent leader of the resistance. When the Parri government was established, the Allies expressed approval of its democratic program and promised support.

By the terms of the armistice northern Italy, the richest and strongest part of the country, was to be ruled by the Allied Military Government as soon as the Anglo-American troops entered Milan, Turin, Genoa, and Venice, though these cities had liberated themselves by the armed insurrection of their inhabitants. This region should have been returned to the jurisdiction of the Italian government on September 1, 1945. Then the armistice should have been replaced by a treaty that would permit Italy to enter the United Nations Organization. This, of course, has not been done. To be sure, the Allies, particularly the United States, have contributed material help—UNRRA is greatly appreciated in Italy—but a country so devastated by war as Italy needs more than bread. (Even bread is very scarce: the daily allowance at present is 200 grams and will soon be reduced.) Without liberty and justice there can be no stable democracy and therefore no organic economic reconstruction.

All the factories saved by the partisans from German destruction are located in northern Italy. With the AMG in control there it is difficult for the Italian government to avail itself of the region's wealth, much of which has been sequestered because it was owned by Fascists but cannot, under AMG, be nationalized or sold to the profit of the state. Moreover, since AMG works through regional set-ups, the economy of northern Italy, which should function as a unit, is administered by five regional offices—Lombardy, Venetia, Piedmont, Emilia, and Liguria—without any central coordination. Under these conditions properly planned reconstruction is impossible.

Allied journalists in Italy often complain about the lawlessness and gangsterism. One reason is that the Italian government was deprived by the armistice of the right to acquire arms for its police. Yet one-third of the total Italian budget goes for military expenses because the armistice prevents the government from demobilizing the army and navy.

Italian relations with other countries are made very difficult by the armistice. It is clear that the French government is inclined to come to a democratic agreement with anti-Fascist Italy, but the latter is prevented by the armistice from undertaking the necessary *démarches*. Even commercial treaties, which might be concluded today with France, Switzerland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Latin America, are made difficult by the armistice. Until Italy is admitted to the United Nations Organization, it cannot adhere to the Bretton Woods agreements, by which the Italian currency might still be saved from uncontrolled inflation, or get back its merchant fleet.

The general elections in Italy are to take place next April. In these elections the people will decide the fate of the monarchy, which for twenty years was an accomplice of fascism. The majority of the people are undoubtedly for a republic; five of the six parties now on the political scene have already come out for one. However, we must expect the monarchy to use every possible method to save itself; its latest maneuver is to place the responsibility for the failure to abolish the armistice on the republican parties, and particularly on Parri. Old, conservative political leaders like Nitti and ex-Fascist newspapermen like the editor of *L'Uomo qualunque* were mobilized to blame Parri for the failure of his policy of cooperation with the democratic nations. Public opinion is naturally perplexed; it may give ear to the neo-nationalists if it becomes convinced that Italian democracy is not supported by the great democratic powers.

The Liberal Party, which is in reality the conservative and monarchical party, used this charge in its attack on the coalition government of which it was a part. According to the Liberal Party, the repercussions of the international situation are more vital in Italian public opinion than the anti-fascism which still animates Parri. At the last moment, the powerful Catholic Party headed by Alcide de Gasperi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, joined the Liberal-Conservatives and asked Parri to resign.

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A few hours before this crisis was reached in Rome, Ernest Bevin made his speech on foreign policy before the House of Commons. It would have been simple for the Labor Foreign Secretary to strengthen the position of the Italian democratic government. Instead, he limited himself to advising the Italian people to place reconstruction problems above political problems. His statement could have been interpreted as favorable to Parri, who is known as a student of economic problems rather than as a professional politician. But the Liberal-Conservatives were able to use it to support their thesis that the anti-Fascist government, which was of course a political government, should make way for a government of so-called technicians—among whom might be found a large number of monarchists. Thus Bevin's words, contrary to the speaker's wishes, not only failed to avert the Italian governmental crisis but actually hastened it. It is reported in Washington that the State Department recently proposed to London and Moscow that the Italian armistice be abrogated and an "interim peace arrangement" concluded. It is a pity that this step, which had been urged by Parri several months ago, was not taken in time to save his government.

As I write, De Gasperi is trying to form a new government. This solution of the crisis is a step toward the right, although the leftist parties will undoubtedly hold important posts in the new Cabinet. De Gasperi has always been an opponent of fascism but is still hesitating with respect to the abolition of the monarchy.

The political trend in Italy is inseparably connected with Italy's position in the world. A progressive, democratic, stable government presupposes that Italy becomes a free member of a democratic United Nations Organization.

The Wisconsin Riddle

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

(A contributing editor of The Nation*)*

Milwaukee, December 6

A CROSS-COUNTRY trip that has taken me into a dozen or more communities in eight states has convinced me that political alignments in the 1946 Congressional elections are likely to be as unsettled and confused as ever before in our history. In every state I have visited political leaders have told me that "the fences are down" and that "the situation is wide open." The personal popularity so long enjoyed by Franklin D. Roosevelt had many curious effects on political allegiances. It held together various bizarre alliances, retarded to some extent logical political tendencies, and in a number of states actually prevented the formation of compact Democratic Party organizations. Roosevelt's death, therefore, created a vacuum which is only now beginning to be filled by the establishment of new alliances and organizations. I believe that 1946 political alignments throughout the country are more interestingly foreshadowed in Wisconsin than in any other state I have visited. Solve the present Wisconsin riddle, and you might be able to forecast the 1946 elections.

The principal reason why Wisconsin possesses this exceptional interest is that it is the only state in which a functioning third party exists—the La Follette Progressive Party. Everywhere I went I found evidence that pointed pretty conclusively to the likelihood of a third-party movement, if not in 1946, then in 1948. With so much "third-party talk" in the air, the question of what the La Follettes will do in Wisconsin acquires national importance. At the moment Milwaukee is buzzing with excitement over a recent resolution adopted by a local Republican organization inviting the La Follettes back into the Republican Party. After considerable debate the wording of the resolution was finally changed so as to substitute "welcome" for "invitation." It is interesting to note that the author of the resolution was Lansing Hoyt, chairman of the Third Ward Republican organization in Milwaukee and chairman in pre-Pearl Harbor days of the America First movement in Wisconsin—in active association with Phil La Follette. At present Mr. Hoyt is devoting much of his time to a new organization whose purpose is to "safeguard the atomic-bomb secret for America." It is also interesting to note that his invitation to the La Follettes to join up with the Republicans was eloquently seconded by "Ham" Fish, who just happened to be in Milwaukee at the time.

An invitation to the La Follettes from the Democratic Party ranks has come from Daniel W. Hoan, long Mayor of Milwaukee, and the nominee of the Democratic Party for governor in 1944. In recent months Mr. Hoan has been building up a liberal league within the Democratic Party—he claims an organization now in some thirteen counties of the state. From time to time he has suggested that the La Follettes should come into the Democratic Party. With the two parties apparently actively wooing the brothers, whose Progressive Party organization was nearly liquidated in the 1944 election, the political prestige of both Phil and Bob has been enhanced. Able politicians that they are, both, of course, are remaining silent and permitting the speculation to spread. It has been intensified by Phil's return to Wisconsin, following his release from service on the staff of General MacArthur. He has been speaking to numerous service clubs and business organizations, using as his principal themes distrust of the Soviet Union and praise for the genius of Douglas MacArthur. No one with whom I talked in Milwaukee believes that Senator La Follette's views and political beliefs can be separated from those of his dynamic brother, who is generally regarded as "*the* La Follette mind." I was told in all quarters that Phil La Follette is the strategist, the brains, the real force in the Progressive Party.

Most people incline to the belief that Phil La Follette, noting the trend toward a third party, hopes to head off the drive for a really progressive third party by seizing the lead-

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ership of the movement now or by organizing, if necessary, a demagogic third-party movement of his own. Whatever he does is likely to confuse any effort to further a third-party movement, now or later, by the C. I. O.-P. A. C. and the N. C. P. A. C. Those persons who believe that the La Follettes will return to the Republican fold reason that Phil La Follette is merely using MacArthur as a front to disguise his own ambition to become a key figure in the 1948 Republican convention—and its nominee, if not for the Presidency, then for the Vice-Presidency. My own conclusion, reached after talks with a large number of people, is that the La Follettes intend, if possible, to seize control of the developing third-party sentiment in the country.

The evidence supporting this view is pretty convincing. According to responsible political observers in Milwaukee, President Roosevelt had an important conference with the La Follettes in 1936. At this conference he is supposed to have invited them to join the Democratic Party, to have offered Phil La Follette the appointment as ambassador to the Soviet Union, and to have said that he regarded Senator La Follette as his eventual successor. It seems, however, that Phil wanted to be named director of the WPA, a position to which the President was reluctant to appoint him. In consequence, the merger fell through, and in 1938 Phil La Follette, with great fanfare, attempted to launch his ill-fated National Progressive Party. In the light of these facts it seems improbable that the La Follettes would now swing into the Democratic Party. But what about the Republican offer?

In 1946 Senator La Follette will be up for reelection—it is generally assumed that he will run. In a non-presidential year he is hardly likely to surrender his pivotal position as a Progressive by joining either the Republicans or the Democrats. Moreover, despite the current efforts to lure him into the Republican Party, it looks as if he would have difficulty in obtaining the Republican nomination if he should decide to run as a Republican. In the last senatorial contest in Wisconsin Captain "Joe" McCarthy, although in the service and therefore absent from the state, gave Senator Wiley a close race for the nomination. McCarthy, a Circuit Court judge, enlisted in the marines as a private and rose to the rank of captain. He is now back in Wisconsin and actively campaigning for the Republican nomination, speaking all over the state *against* compulsory military service in peace time. A likable person and a good campaigner, McCarthy, I was told, is extremely popular. Thus if Senator La Follette abandoned his position as a Progressive, he would be staking his political future on a contest in the primaries in which he might be defeated.

The leading candidate for the 1946 Democratic senatorial nomination seems to be Howard MacMurray, now back at the University of Wisconsin as an instructor. MacMurray is conceded a good chance of winning the nomination but not of being elected. He is an advocate of Union Now, and when he ran last time, he disappointed many of his followers by trying to keep his campaign dissociated from Roosevelt's. In a race between McCarthy, La Follette, and MacMurray—as Republican, Progressive, and Democratic nominees—the labor vote would be split between La Follette and MacMurray, and McCarthy would have an excellent chance of being elected. Some of the labor leaders with whom I talked freely admitted this possibility but said that their primary objective in supporting MacMurray would be the defeat of Senator La Follette. This may sound strange to liberals and progressives outside Wisconsin, but I found widespread distrust of Senator La Follette in the Milwaukee labor movement and a belief that he is the pawn of his ambitious brother. Labor also shows great resentment of the fact that Progressive Party elements brought about the election of Senator Wiley by splitting the labor-progressive vote. Senator La Follette apparently retains strong support in the farming areas, among the leadership of the A. F. of L. unions, and in certain sections of the C. I. O. The left-wing elements in Milwaukee, however, are out to liquidate what they term the "phony liberalism" of the La Follettes. They also believe that in trying to build up a liberal league within the Democratic Party Dan Hoan has it in mind to swing these groups, largely the old Socialist element, behind Senator La Follette at the last moment. Neither the Hoan Democrats nor the La Follette Progressives look with favor on the C. I. O.-P. A. C. or the N. C. P. A. C.

John L. Lewis, in 1940, predicted a four-way split in American politics—the rise of a people's movement to the left of the Democratic Party and of a demagogic movement outside the Republican Party. (As I said above, the political situation in many parts of the country is extremely confused: in Illinois a fight is on in Republican ranks between Governor Dwight Green and Attorney General George F. Barrett over the Green-Kelly coalition; in Minnesota it is rumored that Stassen may support Senator Shipstead for reelection in 1946; in California Governor Warren is playing ambivalent "non-partisan" politics.) Many Milwaukee labor leaders associate Lansing Hoyt's demagoguery about the atomic bomb with "Ham" Fish's appearance in Milwaukee and with Phil La Follette's beating of the drums for General MacArthur —who still retains residence in Wisconsin—and also with the recent conference in Washington between Charles Lindbergh and fifteen isolationist Congressmen. They foresee a fancy nationalist coalition in 1946, with third-party "liberal" trimmings, under the leadership of Phil La Follette. They believe that the La Follette Progressives, at their April conference, will decide to remain independent, and that Senator La Follette will run for reelection as a Progressive.

As an organization the Democratic Party in Wisconsin is weak and formless. Many liberals believe that the party leaders have purposely kept the party weak. They point out that Leo Crowley, who brought about the last-minute support of Senator La Follette for Roosevelt in 1940, has given most of the patronage of the state to the La Follettes. They insist that in 1940 President Roosevelt did not need Senator La Follette's support; that, on the contrary, it was the Senator who, as the final vote showed, badly needed identification with the President. However, the Democratic Party is being reconstituted; on November 10 State Senator Robert Tehan was chosen National Committeeman over Lavy Dilweg, the Dan Hoan candidate, by a vote of forty-two to seven. Senator Tehan, I am told, is friendly and cooperative toward the C. I. O.-P. A. C. and the N. C. P. A. C. Obviously the "fences are down" in Wisconsin, and what happens there in 1946 may have an important influence on the developing new alignments looking toward 1948.

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Wool-Gathering in Washington

WILLIAM C. CLAYTON, Assistant Secretary of State in charge of economic affairs, is one of the busiest men in Washington and, I imagine, one of the most sorely tried. For the past ten weeks or so a good deal of his time has been taken up by the economic-financial negotiations with Britain. On his shoulders has fallen the major burden of trying to persuade Britain to abandon its restrictionist trade policies and lend its support to the State Department program for implementing the fourth clause of the Atlantic Charter. It has been necessary for him to hold forth at length on the evil consequences to world trade of such devices as import quotas and government bulk purchasing. Mr. Clayton appears to have succeeded in this task by securing British indorsement of American proposals for an international trade organization. But it must have been embarrassing for him, to say the least, to be forced, more than once during the negotiations, to rush down to the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue in an attempt to head off some Congressional scheme completely at variance with the principles he was urging on the British.

As an example, let us take a look at the current campaign to save the sheep farmers from "ruin." Under pressure from the American Wool Growers' Association a special Senate Wool Committee has been organized, with Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, one of the leading pastoral states, as chairman. Although the sheep herders have the benefit of a very large tariff on imported wool, they complain that they are persistently undersold. After paying duty, Australian wool, it is asserted, is quoted at 7 to 11 cents a pound below domestic ceiling prices, even though these do not cover American production costs. Consequently, it is alleged, the sheep-herding industry is rapidly declining, with the ranges now carrying 40,500,000 head against a ten-year average of 46,406,000.

This decline has taken place in the face of special support given to wool-growers during the war, first, by the policy of specifying domestic fiber for service requirements whenever possible, second, by a commitment of the Commodity Credit Corporation to buy all wool offered at the ceiling. Next June 30 this guaranty will expire, however, which is one reason why the wool-growers are pressing for action now. Another is the existence of the huge stocks of wool held by the Empire Wool Pool, controlled by the British government, which bought dominion war-time crops at a guaranteed price. The pool holds 3,300,000,000 pounds, which compares with a normal annual world production of 4,000,000,000. A surplus of this size is bound to discourage rising prices.

A number of different proposals have been placed before the special Senate committee. The one most favored by the wool-growers is a quota system which would place a definite limit on the amount which each exporting country could ship into the American market each year. If this were to be supplemented by a tariff increase, so much the better, but import duties by themselves, it is argued, would not suffice to safeguard what is euphemistically called the "competitive position" of American wool. A more original plan has been worked out by Dean J. A. Hill of the University of Wyoming, who has suggested that the government should monopolize the purchase and sale of all wool, domestic and foreign, consumed in this country. The advantage of this scheme is that it would enable the government to average the price and resell at something between a high domestic quotation and a comparatively low foreign one. On the other hand, it would put the government into the business of wholesale trading, which, when undertaken by Britain, evokes the condemnation of all right-minded supporters of free enterprise.

Obviously none of these solutions for wool are acceptable to Mr. Clayton. The imposition of import quotas, he told the Senate committee on November 20, "would be contrary to everything the State Department is trying to do to open up the channels of international trade." According to orthodox free-market economics, in which Mr. Clayton is reported to believe, the proper course would be to let the forces of supply and demand settle the volume of American wool production. But since such a proposal would certainly be badly received in the Senate, Mr. Clayton suggested a subsidy—probably the least harmful method of protection.

A subsidy would be a burden on the citizen as taxpayer but a lighter, if more visible, burden than that which would be imposed on the citizen as consumer by the quota-tariff plan. For the latter would add directly to prices and mean increased margins at every point from the sheep to the tailor. Moreover, with the cost of their raw material increased, woolen manufacturers, already uneasy about post-war foreign competition, would almost certainly clamor in turn for higher import duties, even though these already amount to almost 100 per cent on some types of cloth.

It is rather quaint that Senator O'Mahoney, who is apparently committed to more protection for the wool-growers, should be urging broader uses for wool as a solution for the surplus problem. It seems improbable that an additional charge of, say, $5 to $10 a suit is going to encourage me to buy more clothes. Nor is a policy which will exaggerate the difficulties of countries producing large export surpluses calculated to make them prosperous and better able to buy American goods.

Another point that the wool-growers and their Congressional supporters have overlooked in their anxiety for higher prices is that they are beginning to meet competition from a source which cannot be stifled by trade barriers. The weight of rayon consumed in this country is already greater than the weight of wool. Aralac, a synthetic fiber made from milk casein, is on the market at 64 cents a pound, not much more than half the price of wool, and several other processes for manufacturing protein fibers of a wool type, either from such vegetables as the soybean or from animal substances, are ripe for development. Instead of wool-gathering in Washington the sheep farmers ought to be searching intensively for cheaper ways of producing better wool. Otherwise they may find in a few years that they and their flocks have been by-passed on the road of technical progress.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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The People's Front

THE fiftieth anniversary of the Coronation of the Virgin of Guadalupe was a feast of folklore, rich in the music and rhythm and visual beauty through which the temperament of Mexico finds expression. But behind the emotion and pageantry was a carefully prepared political mobilization by the Catholic church against the principles that gave birth to the Mexican Revolution.

From sun-up until far into the night of Sunday, October 7, an almost unending stream of 300,000 Mexicans thronged the road leading from Laredo to Mexico City. Ten thousand cars clogged the highway. In the square before the basilica of the Virgin the strains of the Mexican national anthem mingled with those of popular tunes and hymns. The massed flags of Mexico and the Vatican seemed almost to fuse in the breeze. The two most energetic reactionary organizations, Acción Católica Mexicana and the Caballeros de Colón, were on hand, establishing the political character of the celebration. An atmosphere of expectancy held the crowd as they awaited the arrival of the special papal emissary, Cardinal Villeneuve, Archbishop of Quebec. Here, side by side, stood the church mystical and the church militant. But throughout the week-long celebration it was the church militant which dominated the scene.

In direct violation of the Mexican constitution, which provides that "ministers of religion will not be permitted, either in private or in public meeting, to criticize the basic laws of the country, the authorities, or the government," the celebration was a bitter attack on the accomplishments of the revolution. During one week Mexico seemed to be retreating a hundred years to the days before Benito Juárez proclaimed the freedom of conscience and drove the clergy back into the churches. On October 8 inside the basilica a demonstration took place against the Spanish republic in exile, which has been officially recognized by President Avila Camacho. To the music of the Spanish monarchist anthem played on the church organ old Spanish residents who are Franco sympathizers paraded through the church carrying the flag of the monarchy. As they filed past the altar, a Mexican bishop exclaimed with joy, "There is the true Spain."

The clerical offensive staged at the shrine of Guadalupe is not limited to Mexico. It is under way throughout the entire Western Hemisphere. In the final ceremony on October 12, which was attended by sixty-six Mexican and foreign prelates, the Archbishop of Mexico, Monseñor Luis María Martínez, declared, "Our Virgin asks more than a temple in Mexico. She wants as her temple the whole American continent. This we did not understand until now." The Archbishop might have been enlightened earlier had he read a cable by Karl von Wiegand which the Mexican press published shortly before the celebration. Writing from Madrid, an excellent sounding-board of Vatican intentions, the Hearst correspondent said: "Pius XII is studying the way to initiate a reorientation of the Holy See toward the American countries." The Catholic church is worried, he continued, by the advance of communism in Europe. It has lost Poland, and its situation in Rumania and Hungary is becoming increasingly precarious. For that reason, "Rome is busy creating a new papal diplomacy able to deal with North and South America." Actually it is not new, for hundreds of Spanish priests dispatched by Franco to South America have long been engaged in this kind of diplomacy, with no small measure of success, as events in Argentina testify.

Spurred by the success of the Guadalupe celebration, the clerical campaign mounted in intensity. A few weeks later a church-inspired student strike broke out in the University of Mexico. Defying the police, the students intrenched themselves in the university buildings and declared a hunger strike. What they wanted was a head-on clash between strikers and police that would provoke a wave of anti-government sentiment. But with admirable forbearance the rector of the university, Professor Fernandez MacGregor, refused their challenge to violence, and the strike began to peter out. At this point the parents took over from the students and carried on the agitation even inside the university. They created the Sociedad de Padres de Alumnos Universitarios, ostensibly in opposition to the rector, but clearly anti-government in character. I spoke to several professors none of whom can be classified as radical; they were all convinced that the Jesuits had had a hand in the affair.

During the Guadalupe festival the metropolitan press was almost solidly on the side of the church. An outstanding exception was the magazine *Tiempo,* whose editor, Martín Luis Guzmán, wrote, "If the Mexican Revolution is sincerely disposed to leave the Catholic church in peace, it is on condition that the church leave the revolution in peace. It is naive to expect the revolution to stand by passively while reaction exploits a fanatical section of the population to destroy Mexico's nascent democracy."

To counteract the pro-clerical press campaign, a group of independent intellectuals immediately launched a new magazine entitled *1945.* The first issue contained a double-page poster reproducing flaming headlines from the major newspapers during Guadalupe week. The caption read: "Day before yesterday this press was eagerly accepting all the money that Nazi-Fascist agents could offer it. Yesterday, when the victory of the democracies became certain, it dipped into the purses of the most imperialist section of the winning coalition. Today it turns to the clergy for largess. And what has it to give in return? The most vital interests of the 'Mexican fatherland' and 'our beloved country.'"

I was in Canada when Cardinal Villeneuve returned from his mission to Mexico. In public statements and private conversations he boasted of the great victory achieved by the church. But His Eminence forgot one thing—Mexico is not Quebec, and Mexican reaction has always paid with blood for every provocation.

DEL VAYO

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

GREECE—THE E. A. M. WHITE BOOK

BY L. S. STAVRIANOS

ON FEBRUARY 1, 1945, in the little provincial town of Trikkala, Thessaly, the Greek National Liberation Front (E. A. M.) published its White Book.* This was a collection of 108 documents covering the period from the Lebanon conference of May, 1944, to the conclusion of the armistice between General Scobie and the E. A. M. in January, 1945. The cumulative effect of these documents is devastating—for British Toryism and Greek reaction. If there was ever any question about the nature of British policy in Greece and the responsibility for the tragic fighting in Athens in December, 1944, this book provides a conclusive answer.

Before the liberation of Greece in October, 1944, the principal problem was to establish a national government which would include not only King George's ministers but also representatives of the E. A. M. resistance movement. Various issues delayed the organization of such a government, and British and Greek government spokesmen accused the E. A. M. of obstructionism. The E. A. M., on July 29, 1944, waived all its conditions for entering the Papandreou government except one—that Papandreou be displaced as Premier. Papandreou himself replied by wire on August 5: "I, personally, give you the assurance that . . . the person of the present Premier of the government will not constitute an obstacle to national unity." Naturally this was taken to mean that Papandreou was ready to retire from the scene, and accordingly the E. A. M. made preparations to send representatives to join the Cabinet.

But on August 10 the E. A. M. received the following telegram: "Because of official confidential communication of British government refusing to accept change of government's Premier on the eve of liberation, the Liberal, Progressive, Agrarian, and Democratic parties are making a final appeal to send your representatives to assume their places in the government as it now stands." This was signed by four Ministers—Venizelos and Rentis of the Liberal Party, Sakalis of the Progressive Party, and Mylonas of the Agrarian Democratic Party—none of whom have challenged the authenticity of the dispatch. In other words, even while Greece was still under Nazi rule, the Churchill government was ready to sacrifice Greek national unity to keep its puppet, Premier Papandreou, in office.

After the liberation of Greece the chief task was to obtain, in the words of Papandreou, the "arming of the state and the disarming of the organizations." All parties accepted this formula; the issue was whether the resistance forces alone should be disarmed or whether, as the E. A. M. insisted, the disarmament provisions should be extended to include the Greek government's Mountain Brigade, which was known to be rabidly royalist and bent on the return of the King (see *The Nation* of December 23, 1944). It was this dispute which disrupted the negotiations and led to armed strife. Hitherto the details of these all-important negotiations have been unknown. The E. A. M. documents show clearly who was responsible for their breakdown. On November 2 Papandreou initialed a plan for the demobilization of the Mountain Brigade as well as the resistance forces. This was acceptable to the E. A. M., and a settlement appeared imminent, when suddenly Papandreou reversed his position and insisted that the Mountain Brigade be preserved, explaining that "this is the opinion of the British government and of the Allied High Command." Although the E. A. M. proposed a compromise plan to break the deadlock, Papandreou refused to budge from his position, and the result was civil war. Evidence from other sources bears out this statement concerning British responsibility for the bloody Battle of Athens. Leland Stowe, after a first-hand investigation in Greece, reported in the New York *Post* of February 15, 1945, that Papandreou "gave an E. A. M. minister a letter from Scobie which said Prime Minister Churchill would not permit the royalist Mountain Brigade to be disbanded. This is why the attempt to disarm the political factions in Greece first failed, as confirmed by the American ambassador in Greece."

Once hostilities had broken out, the problem was how to end them at the earliest possible moment. Papandreou, apparently frightened by the violence and bloodshed, decided to resign, and the Liberal Party leader, Themistocles Sophoulis, was ready to form a new government with the express support of the E. A. M. But British intervention once again prevented the Greeks from settling their differences peacefully. This is the testimony of Sophoulis, who, incidentally, is an octogenarian, very conservative, and anti-E. A. M.:

> On December 4 I was asked by Mr. Papandreou to form a new government. The left wing and the other parties consented to this, that is, that I head the government. I agreed, as I saw in this step a good solution for the problems which had arisen. On December 5 the British Ambassador informed me that according to the latest instructions he had received, the British Premier was not in accord with any changes in the person of the president of the government in the present situation. General Scobie requested that I support Mr. Papandreou, and I told him that if I consented to support the Papandreou government this would mean that I would be supporting the dictatorship, a thing which I cannot do.

Churchill had his way. Papandreou remained Premier, but the fighting continued; and before it ceased, 11,000 persons were killed, 6,500 of them civilians.

* "E. A. M. White Book. March, 1944-March, 1945." Reprinted in Athens. Translated and published in the United States by the Greek American Council, 152 West Forty-second Street, New York. $1.

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In order to neutralize outraged world opinion British "public-relations" experts were sent to Athens, where they immediately began to put out stories about the barbarity of the E. A. M. fighters and especially about their uncivilized practice of taking civilian hostages. Here are the facts concerning these hostages. After the first few days of fighting, when it became clear that the "silly little band of Communists"—Ambassador Leeper's estimate of the E. A. M.—was not going to give up easily, General Scobie began to take civilian hostages from the working-class districts, shipping some to North Africa and keeping others in concentration camps in or about Athens-Piraeus. By December 10 the number of British-held hostages exceeded 10,000. The E. A. M. Central Committee protested repeatedly to Archbishop Damaskinos and others, but the arrests continued. In mid-December, therefore, the E. A. M. as a necessary measure of defense for its sympathizers, ordered that civilian hostages should be taken, but on December 28 and on several other days it offered to release all its hostages if Scobie would do the same. No reply to this offer was ever received. While I am on the subject, it may not be irrelevant to mention that at the moment of writing several thousand Greek anti-fascists are held in British concentration camps in Egypt, Libya, and East Africa, their crime being that they "mutinied" in April, 1944, in order to force the British and their puppet, King George, to allow E. A. M. representation in the government in exile (see *The Nation* of May 13, 1944).

The "White Book" contains many other surprising documents, such as the almost unbelievable telegram of Regent Damaskinos to the E. A. M. Central Committee informing it that it must send an exclusively Communist delegation to the Varkiza peace conference, and even naming two of the three delegates. It is not difficult to imagine how quickly this additional proof of its domination by Communists would have been broadcast had the E. A. M. complied with the Regent's demand.

The Varkiza agreement was signed on February 12, 1945. In return for surrendering its arms the E. A. M. was promised freedom to engage in political activities, and the government guaranteed civil and political liberties and undertook to organize a non-political national army. It is worth noting here that the E. A. M. later published a second White Book—"Violations of Varkiza, February-June, 1945" (Athens, 1945)—showing that the Varkiza agreement had not been carried out. This second collection of documents has not been translated, but it is no secret in this country that the provisions of the agreement were not fulfilled (see *The Nation* of November 3, 1945). The persecution of liberal as well as left-wing elements in Greece, has approximated a nation-wide reign of terror; the Minister of Justice admitted in July that 13,000 persons were in jail. The new army now being organized is royalist from top to bottom, the National Guard includes a large number of quisling Security Battalion men, and the chief of the Athens police force is a notorious collaborationist who, after serving under Metaxas retained his position during the occupation. It might be added that an estimated 70,000 British troops are being maintained in Greece to preserve "law and order."

The comprehensiveness and authority of the E. A. M

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White Books become evident when they are compared with the British and Papandreou publications. Papandreou's "The Liberation of Greece" (Athens, 1945) contains documents covering the period from December, 1943, to his resignation as Premier in January, 1945. It is a pity that this collection has not been translated, for one seldom reads an apologia which so thoroughly damns its author. The documents Papandreou excluded are not more damaging to him than those he included. For example, he gives the text of a telegram to Churchill and Eden in which he declared that he was "seriously disturbed by the situation developing in Greece, where the regions evacuated by the Germans are being occupied by the E. A. M." "I consider it my duty," he said, "to communicate to you my conviction that in the face of this developing critical situation, political means for coping with it are no longer adequate. Only the immediate appearance of impressive British forces in Greece, and up to the Turkish frontier, will suffice to alter the situation." The date of this telegram was September 22, 1944. The E. A. M. representatives had entered the government on September 2. Obviously Papandreou could not have consulted them before sending this message to the British leaders. In other words, the Greek Premier, on his own initiative and without the knowledge or consent of his Cabinet, was appealing to the heads of a foreign state to furnish armed forces to be used against an organization which he had invited into his government and to which he had given six of twenty Cabinet seats. A comparison of the Papandreou and E. A. M. documents reveals also that Papandreou failed to publish the key documents concerning the most significant event of his premiership, the outbreak of armed hostilities.

The British government has presented its side of the story in a White Paper entitled "Documents Regarding the Situation in Greece" (London, 1943). This consists of depositions of prominent Greeks and of British diplomatic and military representatives to the effect that the E. A. M. was taking hostages and committing wholesale atrocities. The hostages have been dealt with above. The reports of atrocities seem to have had some influence; they were repeated by Sir Walter Citrine after his mission to Greece to investigate the conditions of Greek trade unions ("Interim Report of Delegation from the British Trades Union Conference," London, 1945). The evidence indicates clearly that undisciplined elements on both sides were guilty of atrocities. But there is no more reason for believing that the E. A. M. excesses were authorized or condoned by the E. A. M. leadership than for holding General Scobie responsible for the excesses of the British and Greek-government troops. And if any reader doubts that both British officers and soldiers committed atrocities in Greece, he is invited to read Document 95 of the "E. A. M. White Book."

Fundamentally, however, the whole atrocity issue is beside the point. This was noted by Sir Richard Acland in his speech in the British Parliament on January 19, 1945. "In any civil war," he said, "the question is never to be settled . . . by asking the question, 'Who has committed the most atrocities?' or 'Who committed any atrocities?' The question is, 'Which party pushed the whole situation over the dividing line which separates the possibility of discussion and compromise from the impossibility of discussion and compro-

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mise?' " In other words, the important question is not how each side behaved after the shooting started, but which side was primarily responsible for the beginning of the shooting. It is significant that this question has been evaded both in the British White Paper and in the parliamentary speeches of Churchill and Eden. If the British have a case, it is time they produced the evidence. Until they do so, the E. A. M. version remains unanswerable.

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

ON THE WAY to the station the rain whipped my face, the wind whirled my hat away. When, completely disheveled, I finally boarded the Third Avenue local, I was disgusted with the world and the weather. I opened the newest copy of *Horizon,* which I had picked up as I left the office, and found this poem by Dylan Thomas.

FERN HILL

Now as I was young and easy under the apple boughs
About the lilting house and happy as the grass was green,
The night above the dingle starry,
Time let me hail and climb
Golden in the heydays of his eyes,
And honored among wagons I was prince of the apple towns
And once below a time I lordly had the trees and leaves
Trail with daisies and barley
Down the rivers of the windfall light.

And as I was green and carefree, famous among the barns
About the happy yard and singing as the farm was home,
In the sun that is young once only,
Time let me play and be
Golden in the mercy of his means,
And green and golden I was huntsman and herdsman, the calves
Sang to my horn, the foxes on the hills barked clear and cold,
And the sabbath rang slowly
In the pebbles of the holy streams.

All the sun long it was running, it was lovely, the hay-
Fields high as the house, the tunes from the chimneys, it was air
And playing, lovely and watery
And fire green as grass.
And nightly under the simple stars
As I rode to sleep the owls were bearing the farm away,
All the moon long I heard, blessed among stables, the nightjars
Flying with the ricks, and horses
Flashing into the dark

And then to awake, and the farm, like a wanderer white
With the dew, come back, the cock on his shoulder: it was all
Shining, it was Adam and maiden,
The sky gathered again
And the sun grew round that very day.

So it must have been after the birth of the simple light
In the first, spinning place, the spellbound horses walking warm
Out of the whinnying green stable
On to the fields of praise.

And honored among foxes and pheasants by the gay house
Under the new made clouds and happy as the heart was long
In the sun born over and over,
I ran my heedless ways,
My wishes raced through the house-high hay
And nothing I cared, at my sky blue trades, that time allows
In all his tuneful turning so few and such morning songs
Before the children green and golden
Follow him out of grace.

Nothing I cared, in the lamb white days, that time would take me
Up to the swallow-thronged loft by the shadow of my hand,
In the moon that is always rising,
Nor that riding to sleep
I should hear him fly with the high fields
And wake to the farm forever fled from the childless land.
Oh as I was young and easy in the mercy of his means,
Time held me green and dying
Though I sang in my chains like the sea.

It is not a perfect poem. But anyone who doesn't "understand" it, who isn't transported to "the fields of praise" should take out papers in the League for Sanity in Poetry and stay there.

EVA BRAUN'S poor little diary of her romance with Adolf Hitler seems to me one of the more pathetic shards thrown up by the massive explosion of World War II. Eva took pride in the fact that she was "the mistress of Germany's and the world's greatest man," but she will cut a curious figure in the gallery of the mistresses of the great. Yet it is appropriate, no doubt, that Hitler's paramour should have been a simple, rather dowdy little fräulein who sought neither power nor riches from her great connection but only the conjugal affection and attention which are a woman's due in the best of all petty bourgeois worlds.

Instead, Adolf breaks promises and forgets her birthday, leaves town without saying goodby, and hurts her feelings by treating her as if she were his mistress.

> Yesterday we were invited for supper at the Hotel Vierjahreszeiten. I'd sat next to him for three hours and couldn't say a word to him. When taking leave, he handed me an envelope containing money, as he'd done once before. If only he'd at least added a greeting or a kind word I'd have been so happy, but he never thinks of anything like that.

She can't understand why he is so "mean." She is "mortally unhappy" and wishes she had a dog. "If only I had a dog."

Then a rival turns up. The name of the rival is "Walküre," unbelievably, and Eva says "she looks it, including her legs." "If this is true," says Eva, "he'll soon have annoyed her until she is slim." I'm sure Eva burst into tears after she wrote that. . . . She talks of suicide.

Then the diary ends. This was 1935. But Eva stood it for

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ten years more. She took poison in the Chancellery only after it had been surrounded by enemy troops. And I'm inclined to think that Eva's suicide is "internal evidence" that Hitler is dead. For she would never have deserted him. On the contrary she would have clung to life as long as she thought that he by any chance might be still alive—and savable.

Eva Braun was probably the only human being in the world who loved Hitler "for himself." That is her small distinction. It is also Hitler's only claim to human status. Too good for him—but who can fathom or ever quite dismiss the love of a woman for a heel?

I HAVE ONLY A VAGUE IDEA of what the new philosophy of existentialism is all about. I can only say that it exists. Witness the following news dispatch:

> *Paris, November 13* (ONA)—The existentialists, new Paris literary sect, finally found an "angel" to back one of their plays, but he turned out to be a swindler who had stolen the 100,000 francs he advanced them, resulting today in the arrest of one of their leaders on charges of receiving stolen goods.
>
> The arrested leader is Simone Beauvoir, author of the existentialist play "Bouches Inutiles," the play the "angel" was to have backed. The swindler in "angel's" clothing identified himself to authorities as one Néron, "a poet in my spare time." When Jean Sartres, head of the sect, rushed to jail to bail out his deluded assistant, he found her in a cell hard at work on a new play, unmindful of her grim environment.

A friend who reads *Les Lettres Françaises* passed on another existential item which should amuse everyone but Orville Prescott. It is a cartoon in which two intellectuals greet each other opposite the Café de Flore. One says to the other, "Comment ça va, l'existence?" "Oh," says the other, "comme ci comme Sartre."

An essay on existentialism in its literary aspects will shortly appear in these pages.

A CORRESPONDENT IN BOSTON writes me anent my remarks about the language of censors, as set forth in the decision which found "Strange Fruit" guilty of being obscene.

> But these judges of our Supreme Judicial Court are long-winded, fussy, and not always clear when they are expounding the law of the land, even when they are not censors. Unhappy we, not to be living in the days of Shaw and Holmes—who struck at the jugular vein, who reduced the issues of law involved to a happy epigram.

He adds that the name of the dissenter in the case of "Strange Fruit"—that phrase sounds like publicity for the Fruit of the Month Club—is Henry T. Lummus, "who is capable of wit and the bon mot." It was given as Charles Lumus in the item on which I based my comment. I'm sorry.

FROM OVERHEARING, not listening, to the radio I gather that the thing to do is to take a powder. It makes you attractive. And if it doesn't work in just twelve days your headache will be cheerfully refunded.

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BRIEFER COMMENT

The Peoples of America

MUCH THAT IS WRONG with Louis Adamic's "A Nation of Nations" (Harper, $3.50) derives from the fact that its approach to the history of American ethnic groups is a good deal behind the times. In the past, certainly, American peoples of non-English ancestry were pretty much disregarded by historians—partly because historians are likely to be preoccupied with events rather than peoples but partly also because the prejudices of the Anglo-American background were incorporated in their work. Today, however, most American historians recognize the composite character of the American nation and write accordingly. Yet Adamic reverts to the late nineteenth century in order to assail Henry Cabot Lodge and John Fiske for having failed to acknowledge that a sufficient number of Irishmen stood by Washington when the going was tough.

Had Adamic's sense of outrage over the past errors of American historians been tempered by an awareness of recent developments in the field of ethnic historiography, his account might have contained more comment on the social life of ethnic groups and fewer sketchy biographies of prominent people who have come out of them. He should realize that the outstanding individual very likely gains success by casting off the group culture and adopting the dominant *mores,* and that his accomplishment is therefore but an imperfect reflection of the group. The fact, for example, that "one of Edward R. Stettinius's grandmothers was a Reilly" has not even incidental bearing upon Stettinius's career and tells us nothing about the character of the Irish as an ethnic group. Moreover, Adamic places greater stress upon group contribution than upon group participation and for the most part ignores the acculturative process. Thus, by indirection, he endows ethnic groups in the American environment with a stability they do not in fact possess. Finally, he writes of ethnic achievement in a manner to encourage minority chauvinisms which are as dangerous as the notion of Anglo-Saxon superiority. This is particularly true of the section on the Irish, which is geared to the findings of the American Irish Historical Society and ignores Oscar Handlin's realistic account of Irish impact on Boston.

Over a period of years Adamic has done much to broaden our understanding of the problem of ethnic groups. However, before he proceeds with the ambitious task of editing the Peoples of America Series, to which the present volume is prefatory, he would do well to read Marcus Hansen and Caroline Ware on the writing of the history of ethnic groups.

EDWARD N. SAVETH

Desert Exploit

THE SOMEWHAT ROMANTIC INTEREST in the Near East which causes me to keep on my shelves the books of Lawrence, Bell, Doughty, Stark, and others makes it difficult to arrive at a sound judgment concerning Somerset de Chair's "The Golden Carpet" (Harcourt, Brace, $3.50). The astonishing exploit it describes—the capture of Bagdad in 1941 by the tiny British column that pitted itself against

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forty thousand pro-Axis Iraqi troops—is itself enough to make the book worth reading. Yet I was disappointed. The desert, because it excludes the machine and imposes great hardships, has a way of pointing up the valor and the wilfulness of action. It was not the fighting in France nor yet Allenby's great drive to Damascus that produced the great book of the last war, but the Arab skirmishing to the south. Exciting as it sometimes is, "The Golden Carpet" contains no trace of the deep thrill of the "Seven Pillars." There is vigor in the telling, though the intrusion of meaningless detail is oftentimes an annoyance. The desert, which almost always compels the true artist to evolve a special style, has had no such effect on De Chair. And, indeed, the desert is strangely missing from this book, the style of which is racy and practical, though frequently marred by patches of really bad writing. There is little of that portrayal of character which is so fascinating in Lawrence. And for all the explicit statement to the contrary, a sense of momentousness is lacking. That the "Kingcol" expedition as described here is an exploit and not a part of history is due to the fact that the author is not concerned with the drama of emergent and conflicting freedoms, as was Lawrence. I know that the conventional military opinion is that the "Seven Pillars" would have been better without the introspective searching and the "wisdom." Captain de Chair's book will stand as one of the best military books of this war, but it is a Golden Carpet without the magic of flight. RALPH BATES

Labor's Problems and Prospects

THE MAJOR ACTIVITIES AND POLICIES of labor during the war and the outlook for the immediate future are examined in "Labor Today and Tomorrow" by Aaron Levenstein (Knopf, $2.75). Using Sewell Avery as a symbol of the past Mr. Levenstein traces the background of labor's no-strike pledge and the success with which it was carried out. The fight over the issue of union security and the elaboration of the compromise, the maintenance of membership provision, are described. The forms in which this provision were granted by the War Labor Board are not indicated, but the opposition of some managerial groups, notably Sewell Avery, is discussed.

A chapter devoted to the division in the ranks of organized labor does not add much that is new to our understanding; as for the chapter on the influence of Franklin D. Roosevelt, it would be regarded as below standard even in a mediocre book. The aggressiveness of management in the post-war period, its obvious confidence that it can "take on" and lick the unions if necessary, is not unrelated to the departure of Roosevelt. It is not necessarily unwise to postpone domestic controversy, or at least to reduce it to a minimum, while the nation is fighting for its existence. The best and most informative chapter is the one dealing with the influence and policies of the Communists in the labor movement. Mr. Levenstein follows the zigzags of the party line from the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact to the summer of 1945, and the latter-day patriots are revealed for what they are, unprincipled, brazen, and fairly effective. While the book is frequently interesting, it is a bit disappointing. The author knows a great deal about labor, and his judgment is usually

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sound. Yet his volume is not well integrated, and he is inclined, especially in the first chapters, to "write down" to his readers. Nevertheless, this volume is a reasonably worthwhile addition to the literature on the current labor movement.

PHILIP TAFT

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East Meets West

MOST WRITERS ON THE FAR EAST either deal with some particular section of the Orient as an isolated entity or devote their attention predominantly to the impact of the West on the East. In "New Frontiers in Asia" (Knopf, $3) Mr. Jaffe takes as his initial point of reference the significance of the Orient, particularly India, China, and Japan, for the United States. From the standpoint of economics, and to a lesser extent politics, he makes it clear that the well-being of the American people will be largely determined by the wisdom of our Far Eastern policies. And in the process of this demonstration he provides us with a wealth of information on what is wrong with current American and British policies toward India and the Empire and with American policy toward China and Japan. As the first general book on the Far East to appear since the end of the war, it is particularly helpful in furnishing the background for the post-war crises that have developed through the East. Mr. Jaffe lays much of the blame for these crises on the shortsightedness of British imperial policies. He believes that the Indian and colonial problems could be resolved, and a large part of Anglo-American friction dissipated, if the British would devote their efforts primarily to a modernization of their industrial plant and cooperate actively in the expansion of world economy through a raising of living standards. Apart from the fact that it tends to be somewhat harsher in its criticism of British imperial policies than of corresponding flaws in our own policies, Mr. Jaffe's analysis is both sound and illuminating. The only conspicuous omission, from this reviewer's standpoint, is the author's failure to give more space to the implications of American and British Far Eastern policies with respect to the system of political democracy which both profess to cherish.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Coming Next Week!

ATOM BOMB SUPPLEMENT

as part of the regular December 22 issue, reporting on the recently concluded *Nation* conference.

You will want to read the views of Dr. Henry De Wolf Smyth, Leo Szilard, Herbert Evatt, Walter Millis, Helen Gahagan Douglas, Boris Pregel, Thurman Arnold, Charles Bolté, and a host of others on the challenge of atomic power and international cooperation.

THE NATION

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Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

IT IS seldom that so many great pictures can be seen together as at the Brooklyn Museum's present "Landscape" show (through January 1). Starting—a bit paradoxically—with a superb little "Crucifixion" by Lorenzo Monaco in the fourteenth century, it progresses through the Renaissance, the baroque, and the nineteenth century, to come to an anti-climactic stop with a dead bird in the grass executed with meretricious and astounding precision by the young American Andrew Wyeth. The great climaxes on the way are Van Goyen's gray-on-brown portrait of a cloudy sky, called "View of Rynland"; Guardi's "View of Mestre"—rectangular forms suffused with pink, pearl-gray, and light sienna or umber—and Matisse's magnificent "Paysage du Montalban," in which effects are massed not only by design but also by color, green being summarily transposed into black, umber, and gray, and the trunks of saplings dealt with in cerulean blue.

Around these masterpieces are gathered other lesser ones—only to be called lesser because of the presence of the first three—by Sassetta, Veronese, Breughel, Annibale Carracci (who on the evidence of the sample here might have become one of the greatest of all landscapists had not his period and mistaken ambition forced him to pursue the grand style), Seghers, Ruysdael, Rembrandt, Fragonard, Constable, Corot, Courbet, Eakins, Cézanne, Henri Rousseau, and several others.

There are some disappointments: notably the two Claude Lorrains, which in spite of excellent passages are wooden. Renoir, who painted some of the best landscapes of all time, is represented by a picture in which only the foreground is inspired. And the hysteria in the Van Gogh street scene is merely mechanical.

Not all the paintings here are landscapes in the strict definition of the term, but one is grateful in the main for the broadness with which that term has been applied. Yet the looseness of terminology or slackening of taste that induced the museum to include Tchelitchew, Tanguy, Seligmann, Ernst, Berman, Burchfield, and Wyeth in the show cannot be forgiven. Since the museum was willing to go that far, room might also have been made for Mattson, Henry Varnum Poor, Russell Cowles, and Arnold Friedman. The first three are tame, it is true, but at least more solidly in possession of their genre than any other conventional American landscapists of the moment; while Friedman's rose and green mountain scenes can hold their own with anything in the line of open-air painting being produced right now (exception made for two or three Frenchmen). Incidentally, why were Pissarro, Sisley, Derain, Vlaminck, Utrillo, Segonzac, and Bonnard left out? To make room for Thomas Moran, Regis Gignoux, Ben Shahn, Walter Stümpfig, Jr., and a very doubtful and inferior Giorgione?

Käthe Kollwitz died in Germany two months ago and is being commemorated by two shows, one at the Galerie St. Etienne (through December 23) and the other at the Tribune Book and Art Center (through December 17). Apparently a strong talent, she was deflected as well as inspired by her sympathy with the suffering and the oppressed. The problems she proposes herself in her etchings and lithographs are solved sometimes with considerable success, but always within the academic framework, with light and shade used much as Rembrandt would have used them—only more nervously. It is in her woodcuts, where silhouette and texture show Munch's influence, that she tries to attain a greater intensity of expressiveness. Here the power is such that one is disappointed that it is not more. The passion inspired in her by her theme required a complementary passion for her medium, to counteract a certain inevitable excess. Because this excess remains—in our failure to be stirred as much as we feel we ought to be—her art never quite manages to soar into that sphere where Goya and Daumier move. Nevertheless, Käthe Kollwitz will not be forgotten; her seriousness and moral passion suffice to create a lasting personality if not a lasting art.

The oil-painting instalment of this year's Whitney Annual (through January 10) is a cut or two above the "Portrait of America" fiasco at Rockefeller Center, but this does not prevent it from sinking to what seems a new low—but I have this impression every year. Abstract art is copiously represented, but its practitioners do just as badly as everybody else—with a few exceptions, who are Gorky, Adolph Gottlieb, Feininger, and Karl Knaths. There is also a very good seascape by Marin, and a passable picture by Sol Wilson. Léger's large decoration is on a high level but disintegrates around a red-white-and-blue cocarde (the artist's answer to current events).

One's first impulse as a result of this show is to write off a whole generation of American painters. But perhaps here again the jury is to blame—by jury I mean the museum's staff. Or perhaps we have no right to expect anything much better. I don't know. It is possible that I have a jaundiced eye. But I do know that I am fed up with contemporary American art in wholesale quantities.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

HERE is my pre-Christmas list of important works—well performed and recorded unless I say otherwise—that have been issued on records through November of the past year (the important December recordings I will review very shortly):

Bach: Concerto in D minor for 2 violins; Busch and Magnes with Busch Chamber Players (poor performance, poorly recorded); C Set X-253, 2.50.

Beethoven: Quartet Opus 18 No. 4; Budapest Quartet (recorded sound cold and hard); C Set 556, $5.50. Sonata Opus 57 ("Appassionata") for piano; Rubinstein (bad performance, imperfectly recorded); V Set 1018, $3.50. Symphony No. 7; Ormandy and Philadelphia Orchestra (poor performance; recorded sound strident on wide-range machine); C Set 557, $5.50. Symphony No. 9: Ormandy and Philadelphia Orchestra (poor performance, but preferable to other available versions); C Set 591, $8.50.

Bellini: Mira, Norma duet from "Norma"; Milanov and Harshaw (poorly sung by Harshaw); V 11-8924, $1.

Berlioz: Symphony "Harold in Italy"; Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony (poor performance, imperfectly recorded); V Set 989, $5.50.

Bizet: Excerpts from "Carmen" (including Stokowskian transcriptions of arias); Stokowski and New York City Symphony (bad performance); V Set 1002, $4.50.

Brahms: Symphony No. 3 (for second and fourth movements); Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony (not a good performance of these movements); V Set 1007, $4.50. Symphony No. 4; Ormandy and Philadelphia Orchestra (poor performance; recorded sound strident on wide-range machine); C Set 567, $5.50.

Chopin: Polonaise Opus 53; Iturbi (bad performance, badly recorded); V 11-8848, $1. The same work; Petri (poor performance, poorly recorded); C 17377-D, $1.

Debussy: Piano Music; Rubinstein (not well-performed; imperfectly recorded); V Set 998, $3.50. "Nuages" (poorly performed and recorded) and "Fêtes" (brashly recorded); Ormandy and Philadelphia Orchestra; C Set X-247, $2.50.

Franck: Prelude, Chorale, and Fugue for piano; Rubinstein (imperfect perform-

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ance, imperfectly recorded); V Set 1004, $2.50.

Gershwin: "An American in Paris"; Rodzinski and New York Philharmonic (performance fair, poorly recorded) C Set X-246, $2.50.

Grétry: Airs de Ballet from "Céphale et Procris"; Defauw and Chicago Symphony; V 11-8825, $1.

Lalo: Symphonie Espagnole; Milstein and Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy (poorly recorded); C Set 564, $3.50.

Mendelssohn: "Fingal's Cave" or "Hebrides" Overture; Fiedler and Boston "Pops" Orchestra; V-11-8745, $1. Violin Concerto; Milstein and New York Philharmonic under Walter (performance too tense; recorded sound cold and dull); C Set 577, $4.50.

Mozart: Symphony K. 551 (known as "Jupiter"); Walter and New York Philharmonic (recorded sound strident on wide-range machine); C Set 565, $4.50. *Porgi amor* and *Dove sono* from "The Marriage of Figaro"; Steber (orchestral accompaniment not good); V 11-8850, $1.

Mussorgsky: Excerpts from "Boris Godunov" (Rimsky-Korsakov version); Kipnis with orchestra and chorus under Berezovsky; V Set 1000, $5.50. Superior to C Set 563 ($5.50) with performance by Pinza and Metropolitan Opera chorus and orchestra under Cooper.

Rimsky-Korsakov: Suite from "Le Coq d'or"; Mitropoulos and Minneapolis Symphony (performance and recording fair); C Set X-254, $2.50.

Schumann: Piano Concerto; Arrau (poor performance) with Detroit Symphony under Krueger; V Set 1009, $4.50.

Strauss: "Till Eulenspiegel"; Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony (poor performance); V Set DV-1, $4.50 (plastic records, to be used with light pickups only). "Tod und Verklärung"; Stokowski and N. Y. City Symphony (poor performance, imperfectly recorded); V Set 1006, $3.50.

Tchaikovsky: Symphony No. 6 ("Pathétique"); Rodzinski and New York Philharmonic (poor performance; recorded sound strident on wide-range machine); C Set 558, $5.50.

Verdi: Pace, pace, mio Dio from "La Forza del Destino" Milanov; V 11-8927, $1.

Parmi veder le lagrime from "Rigoletto," and *De' miei bollenti spiriti* from *"La* Traviata"; Peerce; V 11-8926, $1.

Wagner: Prelude to "Lohengrin"; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony (imperfectly recorded); V 11-8807, $1. Excerpts from "Tristan und Isolde"; Rodzinski and New York Philharmonic with Traubel (poor performance, poorly recorded); C Set 573, $5.50. Brangäne's Warning from "Tristan"; Thebom; V 11-8928, $1.

JAZZ: NEW PERFORMANCES

Davison, Brunis, Schroeder, etc.: "Tin Roof Blues" and "Royal Garden Blues"; Commodore 556, $1.

Butterfield, de Paris, Bowman, etc.: "How Come You Do Me" and "Struttin' With Some Barbecue"; Commodore 561, $1.

Spanier, Mole, Schroeder, etc.: "Memphis Blues" and "Sweet Sue, Just You"; Commodore 1518, $1.50.

JAZZ: REISSUED PERFORMANCES

Armstrong, Dodds, Hines, etc.: "Wild Man Blues"; Decca 80059, $.75.

Teschmaker, Spanier, Sullivan, Krupa, etc.: "There'll Be Some Changes Made" and "I've Found a New Baby"; Decca 80063.

Books in Short

"Studio Europe," by John Groth, illustrated by the author (Vanguard, $3.50). A professional artist and amateur reporter summarizes with pencil and typewriter his personal experiences on the way from the Normandy beaches to Berlin, where he made an unofficial entry ahead of the crowd to the displeasure of the brass hats. Mr. Groth's sketches, which incline toward caricature and show him to be a disciple of Daumier, are admirable. As a writer he is less sophisticated, but he tells his story in a straightforward and engaging manner.

"The Cossacks," by Maurice Hindus (Doubleday, Doran, $3). Before the Russian revolution the Cossack was a symbol of tyranny, although, as Mr. Hindus explains, the Cossack peoples originated as bands of outlaws, political fugitives, and escaped serfs who founded a breed of fierce individualists. Only after they had fought the Czars for centuries did they come to terms with them. After 1917 the majority of the Cossacks fought the Soviet government too, and they bitterly resisted collectivization of the land. But once forced to accept the new regime, their drive and daring restored them to a leading role in peace and war. In this book Mr. Hindus gives a brief account of their history, but most of his space is devoted to "the Cossack of today," of whom he writes with first-hand knowledge.

"Hahnemann: The Adventurous Career of a Medical Rebel," by Martin Gumpert (L. B. Fischer, $3). Written in the breathless present tense which is all too popular with modern biographers, this book gives an impressionistic account of Samuel Hahnemann, founder of the homeopathic school of medicine. As a medical man himself, Dr. Gumpert is well qualified to discuss the scientific contribution of his hero. It is a pity, therefore, that he felt it necessary to wrap up what he wanted to say in a more than homeopathic coating of popularization.

"Thomas Jefferson," by Claude G. Bowers (Houghton Mifflin, $10). Ambassador Bowers's biography was previously issued in three separate volumes —"The Young Jefferson," "Jefferson and Hamilton," and "Jefferson in Power." Reviewing "The Young Jefferson" in these pages Henry A. Wallace recommended it as a help to understanding "how deeply imbedded is the essence of American democracy." This applies to the complete work, which in this new and most attractive edition should make a still wider appeal.

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Letters to the Editors

Presenting the Vatican

Dear Sirs: The controversy over Professor Laski versus the Catholic church is welcome because it affords every American an opportunity to form an opinion on a vital subject. The debate revolves around these points: (1) Has the Vatican state any right to participate in international political action? (2) Is the Vatican state in favor of the Spanish government for selfish motives?

There should be no disagreement on the first. The Vatican state, as created by the Lateran Agreements of February 11, 1929, is by its own right a subject of international law, and is therefore entitled to the same rights and privileges as other subjects of international law.

In connection with its attitude toward Franco Spain, it is important to distinguish certain characteristics of the Vatican state in order to avoid erroneous interpretations and conclusions. The Vatican state is an absolute monarchy; this is evident from the fact that the three fundamental powers—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial—are vested solely in the supreme Pontiff. The territory is his; the subjects swear obedience to him; the laws he can abrogate at will. The Vatican state is, nevertheless, an elective-constitutional monarchy—showing its kinship with democracy—inasmuch as the Pope is elected by the College of Cardinals.

The Vatican state is entirely neutral—it abstains from competition for territory. It is a patrimonial state—its territory is the personal estate of the head of the Roman Catholic church. It is a confessional state—it openly confesses its dependence upon God. This means that it professes only principles and dogmas of the Roman Catholic church. The Vatican state has relations, as a state, that are international as well as internal—these are subordinated to what we have explained as its confessional character.

The Vatican state and the church are of the same judicial and moral identity; here we are confronted with the union, real and otherwise, of the two institutions. Canon law, the codification of divine laws, governs both state and church. Relations between the Catholic church and the Vatican state are those established by ecclesiastic doctrines: the state is sovereign in temporal matters, the church in spiritual matters. Conflicts between the two institutions cannot arise since the Pontiff is sovereign of both.

This unique connection between the Vatican state and the church has no replica in modern states.

Strange as it may seem because of the confessional character of the Vatican state, the church, in its relations with all nations, deals with a devil—as Christ did in the desert—for the good of souls. This was one reason which induced Pius XI to agree to the Lateran truce with another dictator, Il Duce; this explains the church's condemnation of pagan Nazi Germany and its life-and-death struggle with atheistic Bolshevism.

The Catholic church reaches the farthest corners of the world; it deals with all kinds of government, disregarding their political structure, on condition that religion is held in due esteem or that at least it is confined to its proper sphere in the life of nations. The church cannot show preference for any one form of government without exposing itself to a protest that might lead to schism and even bloodshed.

Professor Laski has a weak point when he attacks the vested interests of the church. The vested interests of the Holy See are no more venal than the vested interests of any one of the great powers. Winston Churchill openly expressed approval of the Franco regime during the Second World War. Franco was not a menace to the British Empire.

In a world in which capitalism is recognized as legitimate, vested interests cannot be set aside. In this respect the church acts like any incorporate organization striving to survive. In showing dissatisfaction with its vested interests, Professor Laski overlooks the acknowledged concern of the Roman Catholic church for mankind's universal needs.

GIUSEPPE DI GIOIA

New York, November 23

Memo from Indo-China

Dear Sirs: We have read with a great pleasure Andrew Roth's article about Indo-China, published in *The Nation* of October 27 and reprinted in the New York *Herald Tribune's* continental edition on November 18. Knowing Mr. Roth of old from his book "Japan Strikes South," we make ourselves bold enough to thank him sincerely in the name of the 25,000 Indo-Chinese resident in France and of our fellow-countrymen at home.

Mr. Roth is one of the staunchest champions of democracy and freedom, and his writings about Indo-China's problems will compel the attention of French and British reactionaries and imperialists.

All of us shall be happy to read more articles of his.

DR. HOANG-XUAN-MAN

General Delegation of the Indo-Chinese

Paris, November 20

Unsolved Political Murder

Dear Sirs: With due allowance for the pressure of world events, we are puzzled by the scant attention given by the daily press to a recent report by nineteen responsible individuals of an inquiry into the causes of the delay in finding the slayers of Carlo Tresca, editor of the Italian journal *Il Martello (the Hammer)*. The report was issued in pamphlet form by the Tresca Memorial Committee, 112 East Nineteenth Street.

We feel keenly that the public is entitled to know what we discovered about this unsolved murder case. Objectively written, our statement was a conscientious effort to serve the cause of justice by a group which sees great social peril in unpunished political murder.

We pointed to some remarkable circumstances connected with District Attorney Hogan's investigation of the Tresca killing—especially the fact, of which we have documentary evidence, that Assistant District Attorney Louis Pagnucco, long in charge of the Italian end, had received honors and awards from Fascists. Obviously Pagnucco did not belong in a case in which Fascists were under strong suspicion from the start. Yet for many weeks Mr. Hogan refused to do anything about this, acting only when he learned that 117 citizens were about to petition the Governor for a special prosecutor. Then he promised a new inquiry, with Assistant District Attorney Lipsky in charge. But that didn't begin for more than two months, and a few weeks later Mr. Lipsky was working on another murder. Since then a deep fog of official silence has settled over the Tresca killing, committed nearly three years ago. One friend with intimate knowledge of Tresca's political conflicts, whose name was known to the prosecutor's office soon after the crime, has never been questioned.

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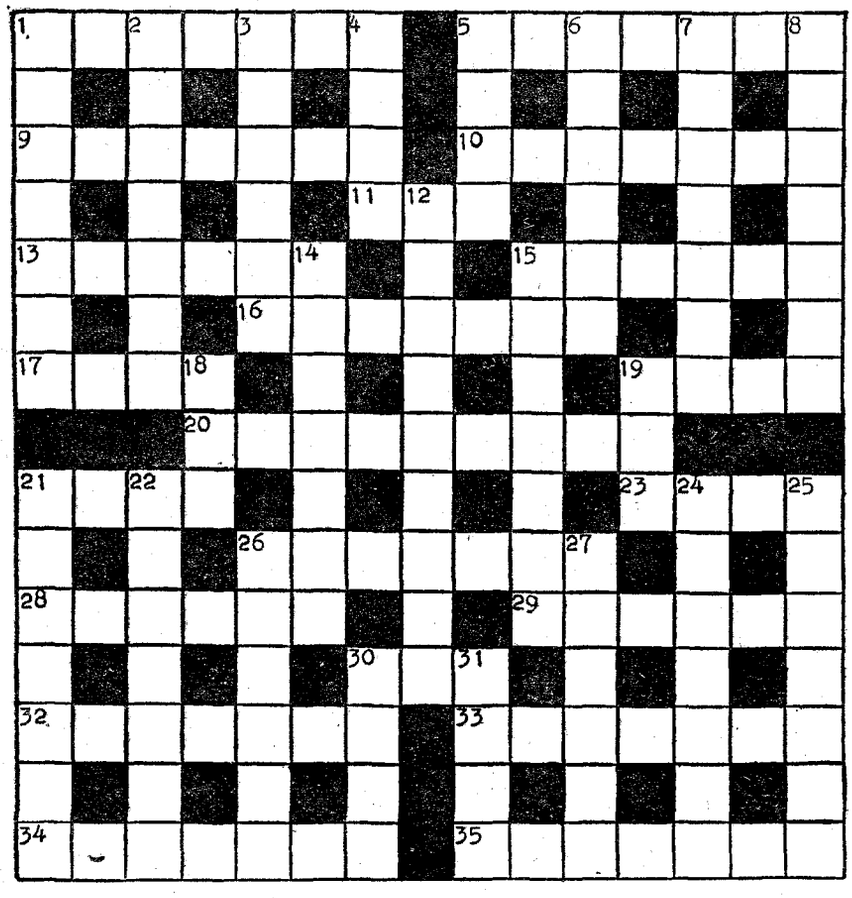
Crossword Puzzle No. 139

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Wrote *The Night the Bed Fell On Grandfather*
5 Old name for Scotland
9 One boy is a blessing to Benjamin
10 The strawberry-tree
11 Essential heart of a thingummybob
13 Red cod in a bale
15 Of a sour temper
16 Formerly the eldest son of French kings
17 Evidently not paid
19 Long-haired Scotch terrier — so long-haired it's hard to make head or tail of it!
20 Be less dear than another
21 America's principal street
23 Three-foot enclosure?
26 Tells or sells
28 When *he* starts shaking his head it's usually all up with you
29 Ward of Ko-Ko whom Nanki-poo was going to marry (hyphen, 3-3)
30 Easier to catch than to hold
32 Clown in *Love's Labor's Lost*
33 It appears on the book's title page
34 President who vainly endeavored to avoid war with England in 1812
35 Presage

DOWN

1 Put that in your pipe and smoke it!
2 Enfeeble
3 Being completely smashed, no wonder she is in bad!
4 What would you call one of the handles on a ship's steering-wheel?
5 He offered to share his savings with Orlando (*As You Like It*)
6 In calling Louis XIV of France this, was Arbuthnot trying to make a monkey out of him?
7 One of the big radio systems, probably
8 Severely simple, or simply severe
12 A capital compartment (two words, 5 & 4)
14 Don't look for any lightning moves from him!
15 Very near
18 It's your money he's after!
19 A tinker, and a sad drinker, in *The Taming of the Shrew*
21 I cod Mum just a little
22 Indices (anag.)
24 At no particular moment (two words, 3 & 4)
25 Reduced in rank for a witty remark in deed!
26 They installed central heating, warmed swimming baths, and the like, nearly 2,000 years ago.
27 Tommy Tucker had to sing for his
30 Shakespeare once likened England to this semi-paradise
31 It looks like 50 to 1 on the military policeman

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 138

ACROSS:—1 FULL STEAM AHEAD; 9 UNMINED; 10 DEVOTEE; 11 YODELS; 12 TRICKERY; 14 GATELEG; 15 TOSTI; 17 SEVEN; 19 CORRALS; 21 FOREPAWS; 23 ISRAEL; 25 EVINCED; 26 TWOFOLD; 27 BORROWED PLUMES.

DOWN:—1 FOUR YEARS; 2 LAME DOG; 3 SINGLETON; 4 EDDY; 5 MODERN GIRL; 6 HAVOC; 7 ANTHEMS; 8 DEWY; 13 BLACK WIDOW; 15 TOADSTOOL; 16 INVALIDES; 18 VERTIGO; 20 SEA FOAM; 21 FLEE; 22 PACER; 24 STUD.

Mr. Hogan owes it to the community to demonstrate civic virtue by doing something definite toward apprehending Tresca's murderers.

JOHN DEWEY
NORMAN THOMAS

New York, November 1

Discontent in Luzon

Dear Sirs: The September 15 issue of *The Nation* just arrived here and I read the article Who Bosses the Philippines? with a great deal of interest. I have been stationed in Pampanga Province, about sixty miles north of Manila, and have observed much agrarian discontent in this sugar-cane and rice-growing province; I am afraid it will flare up into open violence once the Americans pull out. The big landowners, some of whom were fighting the guerrillas during the Japanese occupation, find it now more prudent to stay in Manila. The same people are dead set against independence.

The army authorities show much naivete in evaluating progressive movements and easily succumb to the red scare. More articles of the kind are needed to give the G. I. a better understanding of the setup over here.

SOLDIER

Luzon, P. I., November 15

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